

22 August 1985

## NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

TURKISH ENVOY CALLS FOR 'NEW ANTITERRORIST ORGANIZATION'

Istanbul JAMANAK in Armenian 4 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] The Turkish envoy in Ottawa, Ambassador Coskun Kirca, who is in Turkey on vacation and for treatment at mineral springs, responded to MILLIYET's questions on terrorism. Kirca, who travelled to Turkey over Amsterdam using the name "M. King" for security reasons, stated that Armenian terrorism has become a commando movement armed with the most modern weapons. Insisting that in view of this development it is essential to form a new organization, Kirca said: "In dealing with terrorism, deterrence is more important than protection. The terrorist must know at the time he embarks on his mission that he will not succeed." Responding to other questions, Kirca said in brief:

"During the assault mounted against us we realized that these people no longer attack with pistols, knives or ordinary rifles. It was as if they were conducting a commando operation armed with the most modern weapons; they came carrying automatic pistols and bags filled with explosives. That morning we woke up with the sound of gunfire. After hearing the gunshot that killed the Canadian security guard, my wife ran to our son's room and locked the door. I decided to put on my trousers and jump from the window because it was obvious that they were looking for me. I thought that if they find me they will kill me and that if they do not find me it would not be in their interests to kill others because then their image would be tarnished. After consulting with my wife, she said: 'There is no other way. Jump right now.' I jumped from the window of the bathroom; that was the only suitable place. The window was 6 meters above the ground. I am 1.60 meters tall, so I figured that if I hang from the window with my hands the height to drop would be reduced. I thought that if I do not fall on my head I would most likely survive. Thus I climbed out of the window and jumped. I stayed where I fell for 4 1/2 hours in temperatures of 32 degrees below zero. Because of the cold I could not feel the pain of my broken bones."

In response to a question on measures that need to be taken against terrorists, Kirca said:

"Naturally, it would not be right to talk about countermeasures in detail, but since they have changed their methods into commando-type operations, an appropriate organization to counter such operations must be formed. The problem is one of deterrence rather than protection."

When the interviewer said, "Of course you do not mean reprisals," Kirca replied:

"No. However, the terrorist must definitely know before he attacks that he will not succeed. Talking about reprisals is unthinkable for a civilized country. First of all, it would be wrong to believe that all Armenians living in various parts of the world support the terrorists. There are many Armenians who are completely opposed to terrorism and there are those who are indifferent. Of course there are Armenians who support terrorism, but a civilized country cannot choose the path of reprisal without being able to differentiate between the guilty and the innocent."

Asked whether "the international public opinion is sympathetic toward the Armenian claims," Kirca said:

"I can say the following: At this point in time we cannot say that large segments of world public opinion have endorsed the Turkish viewpoint. But before they accepted the Armenian claims unquestioningly; now they have started doubting those claims. This was seen in the Canadian press and news media; it has been seen in other countries as well. Even if the Armenian claims reflected the truth, civilized people cannot justify terrorism 60 years later because of that. The Armenian claims have begun to lose ground rapidly."

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

SEVRES CONGRESS TO DISCUSS ARMENIAN-KURDISH RELATIONS

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 10 Jul 85 p 4

[Text] The HURRIYET correspondent reports from Paris:

The 3d Armenian Congress which began its deliberations 2 days ago at Hotel Sofitel in Sevres has been proceeding in a generally dull atmosphere with no noteworthy developments. It was noted that no new delegates have arrived, and the congress is proceeding with 60 delegates.

Reporters were barred from attending the congress which has 20 fewer participants this year than the previous one held in Lausanne in 1983. Some observers believe that the interest of the Armenians toward such conferences has been declining. Others think that the Dashnak party [Armenian Revolutionary Federation], having substantially increased its influence among the Armenians of the diaspora in recent years, played a role in this decline of interest by not sending any delegates of its own to the conference although the Hunchak Social Democratic Party and the Democratic Liberal Party sent observers.

The French press has also not displayed any particular interest toward this congress; virtually no reports have appeared in the papers since the day it began. It is also interesting that this conference is not being attended by the Protestant priest, Reverend Arthur Helvajian, even though he was elected to the Executive Committee at the conference in Lausanne.

Armenian-Kurdish relations have been included in the agenda of the 3d Congress. Armenian-Kurdish relations were cited in Article 8 of the resolution adopted at the end of the 2d Congress in Lausanne. Yesterday, a consultative session was held on Armenian-Kurdish relations underscoring the indispensability and inevitability of an agreement for cooperation between the two peoples.

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## ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

## KURDS BLAMED AT SEVRES CONGRESS FOR COMPLICITY IN 1915 MASSACRE

Istanbul MARMARA in Armenian 11 Jul 85 pp 1,4

[Text] CUMHURIYET correspondent Sabetay Varol reports from Paris:

As the 3d Armenian Congress continues its deliberations in Sevres, an Armenian writer said that the collaboration between ASALA [Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia] and the Apoists ended 2 years ago.

Two days ago, during discussions in one of the congress committees examining the issue of "Armenian-Kurdish relations in history," Kocharian, an Armenian delegate from the FRG, expressed his views on this issue. In his remarks Kocharian charged that throughout history Armenians have suffered from the brutality Kurdish tribal chiefs and that the Kurds of eastern Turkey had a major share of complicity in the 1915 massacres.

Kocharian also said that the collaboration between the PKK [Kurdistan Workers' Party], also known as the Apoists, and ASALA ended 2 years ago and that these two organizations completely broke ranks with each other in 1983.

The congress continued its deliberations yesterday, and a ceremony was held to mark the 65th anniversary of the Treaty of Sevres. Speakers at the ceremony included the mayor of Sevres, Jean (Cailloneau), and his aides as well as the mayor of Antony, Patrick Devejian.

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EGYPT

HUMAN RIGHTS DEFICIENCIES DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 29 May 85 p 14

[Article by Dr Yahya al-Jamal: "Getting Out of the Current Arab Crisis: Modernizing Thought and Affirming Human Rights"]

[Text] I believe that we should define the nature of a crisis before talking about getting out of it because it is the nature of that crisis that will determine to a large extent how we can get out of it.

Actually, the current Arab crisis is a complex, multi-faceted crisis. This may be what induced the newspaper's "National Dialogue" Section to describe it as a historic crisis of unprecedented and unrecurring proportions. It is my judgement that the current Arab crisis originated in two other crises. One dates back to June 1967, and the other runs much deeper than that. One must deal with these two origins of the crisis because together they make up the current historic crisis.

In June 1967 one period of Arab history came to an end and another began. A period of growth in nationalism came to an end; a historical leader was thwarted; the Arabs suffered a shocking defeat; and a new stage in the area began. That was the stage of Israeli lawlessness.

The most dangerous point about the defeat in June 1967 was the fact that it was a defeat of the Arab mind itself. The Arab psyche was profoundly and deeply wounded. The most dangerous kinds of defeat are those that go beyond the destruction of cities and the defeat of weapons; they affect the will, the self and the mind. The difference between what happened in 1956 and what happened in 1967 is the difference between having one's weapons defeated--and that happened in 1956--and having both one's mind and one's weapons defeated--and that happened in 1967.

Because 'Abd-al-Nasir was no ordinary man, he was able, despite the horror of the shock that gave him a jolt on that sad day in June 1967, to summon up all his determination and resolve in the period following the defeat and to begin rebuilding the armed forces. He was able to pave the way for the 1973 October War.

By all military standards the 1973 October action was splendid and glorious.

But the wounds that the Arab psyche had suffered were deep, and the shock which the Arab mind had sustained in 1967 was not easy to overcome. Not even the glorious achievements of October 1973 would make overcoming that mental shock easier.

A shortsighted approach ultimately divested that great action of what had been expected from it.

Neo-colonialism put on a new hateful show in which it orchestrated numerous roles played by many players in all the Arab countries. Its main objective was to find out how Egypt could be made to starve and how Egypt's starvation would lead it to renounce its Arab character. Isn't it common knowledge, after all, that hunger knows no principles? The kind of hunger that knows the least principles and is also the most foolish and the most rebellious kind of hunger is that of hungry people who are surrounded by manifestations of shameless conduct, self gratification and over indulgence practiced by those who have connections. Those people don't understand anything about the movement of history. They do not know that they are playing parts that are controlled and manipulated by neo-colonialism just as though they were puppets in a puppet theater.

This hateful show ended the way it was supposed to end. And Camp David, which was the product of Arab devastation, became the cause of more devastation. That is how I've always seen Camp David: as the product of previous fragmentation and conflict and a desire to bring Egypt to its knees. Camp David also became the cause of more fragmentation, conflict and breakdowns among the Arabs.

There is a verse in the Holy Koran which states, "We have spread out the earth and set upon it immovable mountains" [al-Hijr: 19]. The holy verse means that God Almighty placed immovable mountains in certain places so that the land would neither be moved or shaken and hit by earthquakes. In the Arab homeland Egypt is that immovable mountain. This is a fact that no two nationalists would disagree about. It is a fact that derives its credibility from history, geography, population density and the cultural worth of everything that counts in man's life.

To undermine the Arab homeland and upset its affairs, the mountain had to be moved from its place. Matters had to be forced in such a way so that Egypt would become isolated from its Arab homeland, and the Arab homeland would become isolated from it.

And this is what happened. Making plans for the isolation of Egypt and implementing those plans began in June 1967. If that great and glorious day in October 1973 had been put to good use by politicians and those in power, it could have stopped that grave decline; but it was not put to good use, and it did not stop that decline.

This is the source of the crisis that is close.

#### The Source of the Malady

The deeper source of the Arab crisis is that which has to do with the makeup of Arab society and the Arab mind.

Although the previous, closer source does not stir much controversy among those who look at matters objectively and rid themselves of emotional ties, that deeper source of the crisis, which has to do with the makeup of Arab society and the Arab mind itself, may stir up more than a little controversy and more than a few disputes.

I believe that Arab society on the whole--although that may not be true of all of its parts--is a tribal society, and I believe that the Arab mind on the whole--although that may not be true of all Arab minds--is dominated by a tribal mentality.

Everything that appears on the outside: the buildings, cars, alcoholic beverages, dance halls, women's fashions with women coming out on the streets looking their best, and even the university and parliament buildings were not able to withstand much in Lebanon when they were tested for the first time. All these outside appearances were exposed, and they showed that what lies behind them is a society that is extremely backward despite all its appearances of being modern. Although Zionist colonialism is repugnant and its plans are underhanded, we must not hide from the truth and place all the blame on others to clear ourselves from blame. The source of the malady lies within us.

Much more than what is being said about Lebanon is being said about the other parts of the Arab homeland.

We are living in a backward, tribal society.

This is the truth about the crisis.

In a tribal society, one's sentiments and sense of affiliation belong to the tribe or clan or to the quarter or neighborhood where one lives. One's sense of affiliation with the state is not clearly felt because the notion of a state is not clearly defined. As a result, there are very serious consequences that have to do with the question of power.

Power in a backward, tribal society is different from the power of the state.

Power in a tribal society is vested in one person or in a group of people. It is vested in a tribal elder, in the patriarch of a family or in the leader of a group or hamlet. What is important here is that power is personal. It is associated with a particular person and is attributed to him.

In a state, however, power is vested in an institution where individuals play certain roles. But power itself does not belong to those individuals, nor can they use it any way they choose according to their whims and special desires. Those individuals represent an institution, but they do not own that institution.

They represent the institution, but they are not that institution.

I think that many people will agree with me that the notion of power in many Arab regimes has nothing to do with the "institutional" notion of power in a modern state.



Listen to most Arab rulers as they talk about themselves, or listen to others when they talk about them. Then listen to Arab radio broadcasts and read the Arab press. And then listen to radio broadcasts from the civilized world, and try to compare between rulers here and there. In other words, try to compare the meaning of power here and the meaning of power there. You will undoubtedly find the reason for the malady and the secret to the crisis.

If that is the crisis, what then is the way out of it?

#### Two Prescriptions: Mind and Man

If we were to look at that source of the crisis which is close, we would have to talk about Egypt's need to return to the Arab community. This is extremely important because if Egypt were not to return to the Arab nation and if the nation were not to join it in solidarity, colonialism's and Zionism's most precious hopes would have been achieved, and the Arab world would be left without the strong stabilizing influence it has to have to achieve stability.

When Egypt returns to the Arab nation, a sense of balance would be restored to the Arab scene, and Arab action will have to take on a serious appearance.

If the Arab League is to survive as a framework for Arab action at this stage, that framework must undergo radical change. The first step toward making that change would manifest itself in issuing decisions that are adopted by the majority. This is the rule that all international organizations employ at the present time, even those organizations whose member countries do not share what the Arab countries have in common.

So much for the source of the crisis that is close!

To my mind, getting out of the original crisis requires [the following]:

First, the Arab mind is to be modernized and guided so that Arab society can cease to be a tribal society and become a contemporary society.

Second, society's tribal condition is to be brought to an end, and a state with stable and continuing institutions is to be established. Power is to be associated with institutions not individuals.

Third, human rights and human dignity are to be affirmed in the face of regimes. That can only be done by a democracy that truthfully expresses the people's wishes and acts accordingly. A regime should not overpower the people's wishes or dictate them as most regimes do now.

The Arab mind is to be guided and liberated, and Arabs are to have the right to make their own decisions and plan their future.

These are the two prescriptions that must be followed to get out of the crisis.

The author of this article is a professor of law, a former Egyptian minister, and an independent national thinker.



EGYPT

LEGAL SITUATION OF WOMEN DISCUSSED

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic 6 Jun 85 pp 12-14

[Article by Sawsan al-Jayyar: "The Law That Torments Women: the Three Issues of an Apartment, a Second Wife and Alimony Are Potentially Explosive"]

[Text] Mufidah 'Abd-al-Rahman: "Women must understand that they are powerless."

Dr Nawal al-Sa'dawi: "Lack of agreement among religious elders is the reason why there are problems about apartments and alimony."

Dr Suhayr al-Qalamawi: "Small groups of women who have nothing to do with the law get together to discuss it!"

Thousands of oppressed women are waiting for a quick solution.

The repeal of the Personal Status Law has pulled the rug from under women's feet and left them in limbo.

Some women's societies have been making wholesale accusations from that shaky position: they've been accusing the press of turning the issue into a topic for amusement and humor, and they charge that the press has sensationalized the issue. These women's societies have also been accusing the repealed law itself of realizing only partial gains.

Severe criticism has also been leveled at political and economic conditions and at illiteracy and political parties as well.

But there is a strong tendency among women that affirms that women's meetings are merely functions where controversies emerge. Although the purpose of such meetings is to conduct a purposeful dialogue regarding the enactment of a new law, these meetings are usually adjourned without reaching any specific opinions on that new law.

Since this issue has to do with the future of wives, husbands and children, it is essential that we begin with the question, "What exactly do women want?"

Some people regarded the decree that repealed Law Number 44 for 1979 a setback or a backslide to the old law that was issued in the twenties. Sixty years later, that law is no longer compatible with the spirit of the age or the development of society.

That opinion was expressed by Dr Nawal al-Sa'dawi, who also thinks that Law Number 44 for 1979 realized only partial gains for women. Dr al-Sa'dawi thinks that despite the fierce campaigns that were waged against this law, women were not quite satisfied with it. It provided the minimum that was required and only partial benefits. This law did not realize equality of rights and responsibilities across the board between women and men.

Dr Nawal al-Sa'dawi affirms that women's problem is primarily political because the country's conditions are reflected on them. "The Personal Status Law will not change in women's favor unless women wake up from their slumber and demand their rights."

"And this is what we did," said Dr Nawal al-Sa'dawi. "The popular women's movement began in January 1985, and a meeting was held to talk about the law before it was repealed. Several statements were issued indicating that women were not completely satisfied with the 1979 law. We collected the signatures of 500 women who agreed to form a delegation to present the matter to the Legislative Committee of the People's Assembly. After the constitutional court issued its ruling, a statement supporting that ruling was issued so that constitutional foundations [for such a law] could be established. The statement demanded that that principle be applied to all the laws that were issued in the same manner under the same conditions."

Dr Nawal al-Sa'dawi defended the women's movement in Egypt and said, "When 400 women get together to consider the subject of a women's alliance and propose the idea of a silent march to dramatize their demands, isn't that a positive action on their part? But the press sometimes sensationalizes a serious issue and turns it into a subject for humor and amusement."

"Our meeting was intended to rally women's ranks so we can face the ideological and intellectual controversies and differences among women. I admit that the first women's meeting was sabotaged because each party was trying to gain control over the women's movement. The Wafd Party withdrew and decided to work on its own, and the Grouping Party tried to gain control of the meeting."

I asked Dr Nawal al-Sa'dawi, "Do you think that the Personal Status Law should emanate from a grassroots organization of women? Who would be the members of such a grassroots organization? Would they be intellectuals, working women or homemakers? Who appointed you to speak on behalf of Egyptian women?"

She said, "We are a segment of the women of Egypt, and our problems are the problems of intellectuals, working women and homemakers. We've paid a heavy toll for our involvement in political activity. Egyptian women do not have the time or the effort to join a political party or a women's society. There are hundreds of obstacles that one faces in unifying women. Unfortunately, illiteracy is widespread in our midst, and I am not talking about the inability to read and write. I am talking about a total lack of awareness especially among educated

women. A simple peasant woman may know what it means to be oppressed by her husband, but she does not know how to articulate that. Therefore, we must defend every woman who feels oppressed by her husband and is aware of that oppression. Our gains are being eroded every day, and we must defend our liberation.

"Despite the shortcomings of the recent women's meeting that was held at Huda Sha'rawi Society, that meeting was a step toward the formation of a women's alliance. This is what Egyptian women want. If we can unify the ranks and form a strong women's alliance, women can get a law that would be fair to them."

#### A Small Group of Women

There is an opinion in women's circles that calls for working quietly through legal channels and shunning those figures that are rejected by the government. Such an effort would help the enactment of a law that would be fair to the family. Dr Suhayr al-Qalamawi subscribes to that opinion.

She said, "When Law Number 44 for 1979 was issued, it broke the cycle of misfortune that had existed for 29 years during which several personal status bills were drafted, but none of them ever saw the light of day. Only a few small changes were made, such as raising the age of marriage.

"The law realized only small gains for women. That is why I objected to it when it was issued by the People's Assembly where it was introduced by presidential decree to avoid debate. The women who objected to the law agreed not to say anything so that its enactment would not be delayed by secondary discussions."

Dr Suhayr al-Qalamawi commented on the women's meetings that are taking place now by saying, "There is no coordinated and organized collective women's action. What is happening now is that a small group of women from here and there get together under the pretext of discussing the repeal of the Personal Status Law. These women have nothing to do with the law, and they talk about things that we do not need and things that Egyptian women do not need. There are thousands of oppressed women in the courts waiting for a quick solution; they are not waiting for the establishment of a women's movement. Working quietly to draft a new bill that would respond to women's needs and alleviate their suffering in the courts, getting that bill through to legislative channels, and urging legislators to pass it would be more useful than organizing demonstrations, even peaceful ones.

"Portraying women as the enemy doing battle with men hurts women. What we need is a law for women, men and children."

Dr Suhayr al-Qalamawi added, "The reason why the women's movement in Egypt is subdued is that most female intellectuals in Egypt do not have an adequate understanding of women's issues. Women do not understand their role in society. This may be due to the poor training that female intellectuals receive; their training devotes attention to abstract issues that are irrelevant to the people's suffering and to public issues. In addition, middle class women are studied based on the fact that they are middle class women themselves, but lower class women are ignored even though they are more liberated."

Another opinion that is critical of the women's meetings is that of Professor Mufidah 'Abd-al-Rahman who said, "I do not believe that organizing demon-

strations, women's meetings and a march would be useful. We do not have a serious political women's movement at all. What we have now is nothing more than political parties that are using women in their own controversies.

"Women must understand that they are powerless. The only thing they can do is form a small committee of reasonable women who can meet with the Legislative Committee of the People's Assembly to explain their point of view."

Mufidah 'Abd-al-Rahman added, "We must have confidence in the legislators' mental attitudes. These legislators are fathers, brothers and sons; they will never do anything to hurt women's interests. Although women are still controlled by the 1929 law, judges do rule according to the spirit of the age and in accordance with the requirements of current economic life."

#### The Apartment Issue

The only issue in the Personal Status Law that Dr Suhayr al-Qalamawi is concerned about is the problem of divorce and marriage to another woman. She thinks that solutions can be found to all other problems--those that have to do with the apartment, custody and alimony.

The issues of divorce and marriage to another woman do not require laws; the letter and spirit of the Koranic verses and Prophetic Traditions suffice. This is not a matter of placing new restrictions; it is rather a matter of applying the existing law that is based on justice. In the Koran divorce is the most objectionable of all permissible deeds.

Dr Suhayr al-Qalamawi said, "Understanding the letter and the spirit of the verses in the Koran affirms that a divorce cannot be effected in less than a year. If a man wants to divorce his wife, the steps he has to take are clearly defined in the verses of the Koran. In these unequivocal verses we find that a divorce does not become final before a year, and this period is long enough to allow a man or a woman or both of them together to change their minds.

"The 35th verse in the chapter, al-Nisa' states, 'If you fear a breach between a man and his wife, appoint an arbiter from his people and another from hers.' This verse is addressed to the Muslim community in whose behalf an imam would issue laws that would be applied by a judge. This verse shows that men do not have an absolute right to divorce their wives. That right is restricted and regulated by the rules of the canonical law of Islam.

"All this requires that the right to divorce be subject to the control of the community, which is represented by the positive lawmaker who must regulate that right by means of a rigorous law that would preserve the rights of wives and children."

Dr Suhayr added, "If we were to consider the provision regarding the problem of taking a second wife, we would find that only one verse in the Koran mentioned taking more than one wife. This license to marry more than one woman is contingent upon ability and necessity. The Koranic texts stipulated that justice be achieved when a man takes more than one wife. But who will be the judge on whether or not that requirement for justice is fulfilled? Is it the husband who

would be a litigant as well as an arbiter at the same time? The letter and the spirit of the text indicate that there is a superior authority that would see to it that this condition is met. In the courts of Damascus, a man may not take a second wife until a judge is satisfied that he can support the second wife in the same standard that he has been providing for the first."

Although the apartment issue is not important to Dr Suhayr al-Qalamawi, there are 4,000 cases pending in the courts over that issue. This is confirmed by Mufidah 'Abd-al-Rahman who said, "Law Number 44 for 1979 created numerous problems in application. I know that from my experience as an attorney. The law created conditions and rights that did not exist before. Therefore, many disputes arose.

"The fact that the law raised the age of custody is of no great consequence. And no harm is done when a man takes a second wife and then informs his first wife: if she wants to stay married to him, she can; and if she wants to get a divorce, she can. There is nothing wrong with that. Taking a second wife must be a matter of necessity for a man. That may be the point that restricted men's use of that right; those men who abuse that right deserve no consideration from lawmakers.

"But the issue that created problems is the apartment issue. The law upset the delicate balance upon which the family is based by favoring the wife's interests in this regard. This encouraged some women to disobey their husbands or to file for divorce so they can keep the family residence. That is why the number of divorce cases that were filed to spite husbands doubled.

"Women do indeed need a law that is derived from the canonical law of Islam. Restoring the provisions of Law Number 44 for 1979 without any changes would be all right, but as far as the family residence is concerned, that matter must be reconsidered.

"What happened to love and mercy when a wife throws her husband out of the home for which he had spent every penny he had? This residence issue must be looked at in detail with deliberation because it has created domestic problems. We would not be exaggerating if we were to say that it has created problems before marriage."

But Dr Nawal al-Sa'dawi thinks that the problems of residence and alimony are attributable to the economic problem which the country is experiencing. And that does not concern us. "The problem," she said, "is not the apartment issue or the alimony issue. The problem rather lies in the fact that there are numerous schools of thought in the canonical law of Islam. Religious elders are divided. One school of thought states that men have an absolute right to take more than one wife; and another school of thought says that taking more than one wife is forbidden. When there are numerous opinions and religious interpretations, a law must be issued. All the laws of the state are civil laws. Why then is the Personal Status Law derived from religion?"

MOROCCO

# HEAD OF MOROCCAN-LIBYAN UNION STRESSES PROGRESS ACHIEVED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 29 May-4 Jun 85 pp 24-25

[Interview with Abdelouahed Radi, secretary general of the African-Arab Union, by Talah Gabriel: "Union Is An Irrevocable Decision; It Will Last Forever"; place and date unspecified]

[Text] After the Oujda Treaty was signed in August 1984 between Morocco and Libya, resulting in the African-Arab Union, Abdelouahed Radi (a Moroccan) was named secretary general of the union. AL-MAJALLAH interviewed Mr Radi and discussed several problems concerning the union. Mr Radi thinks it is a "logical and genuine step toward total unity." He expects others to join it in the future.

When we told Mr Radi that our questions would be frank and would focus on what is being whispered about the union, he answered, "I do not believe that a newspaper interview which is not candid can be useful to a reader." We present the interview as follows:

[Question] Several months have passed since the Oujda Treaty was signed. What steps and measures have been taken so far toward actual implementation of the union between the two countries?

[Answer] After the treaty was ratified, the secretary general and his deputy were appointed. We undertook to build the structures of the secretariat general and lay down the terms for application of the treaty which stipulate that political, economic, cultural and technical institutions be established. We had to create legal bases for these institutions. The documents signed by the leaders and appended to the treaty were debated and discussed. We are now trying to set up the administrative divisions of the secretariat general which is composed of Moroccan parliamentarians and members of the People's General Assembly in Libya. In general, one can say that the structures and institutions of the union are nearly complete.

[Question] How long do you expect it will be before these institutions are established?



[Answer] It will require a meeting of the leaders to set up all the organs of the union. That means a meeting between the Moroccan monarch and Col Mu'ammarr al-Qadhdhafi. We expect this to take place within the next few weeks. According to our estimates, everything will be completed within 2 months.

[Question] There is a prevailing impression that the agreement is being implemented in an extremely slow manner. Some people think that there are obstacles confronting application of the terms of the agreement.

[Answer] There are no obstacles or difficulties. We are trying to avoid improvisation, through rational, earnest concepts. We do not make a decision until all facts and information are complete. We have taken many steps without fanfare or publicity. We are thinking of the future. In every step we take, we are thinking of the likelihood and possibility of expanding membership in the union. For this reason it is necessary to be deliberate.

[Question] There is another question in the same context. What has been implemented so far seems limited to administrative and executive structures. However, as far as giving concrete form to the union between the two peoples is concerned, for example, there seems to be nothing tangible. What about doing away with visas?

[Answer] I do not think you have followed the news carefully! Last November the Libyan minister of justice and interior visited Morocco and signed an agreement with the Moroccan minister of interior concerning the movement of peoples and goods and facilitating contact between the two countries. Implementation of this agreement has begun. A certain amount of time is required before all terms of the agreement are implemented.

[Question] So the agreement has not been implemented in its entirety?

[Answer] Some of it has been implemented, and some of it is in the process of being implemented. We should note that before the treaty was signed, the volume of air travel between the two countries was quite limited (three or four planes per week). Now the number has risen to eight flights per week. Sometimes there are additional, special flights. After the Oujda Treaty was signed, intense contacts occurred between the Moroccan and Libyan governments. These meetings resulted in the signing of several agreements having to do with the sectors of air and sea transportation, oil, agriculture, work, youth, sports, health, education and so forth.

At present there are innumerable visits by Moroccan delegations to Libya and Libyan delegations to Morocco!

As for the two peoples, there have been many unofficial contacts and meetings. This confirms that the cohesion of the two peoples continues and is increasing. We support and encourage this!

### Some People Look Only for the Negative Aspects

[Question] It is rumored that even within the framework of cooperation which you mentioned, there are some difficulties. There is talk about the problems faced by Moroccan companies operating in Libya.

[Answer] In Libya there are internal laws with which Moroccans must become acquainted in order to conform to them.

[Question] So there are some difficulties?

[Answer] I do not believe that the problem of individuals or institutions being cognizant of laws in Libya can be described as difficulties or obstacles! Obstacles lie in the creation of new problems and complications, and that is not at all the case. The internal laws in both countries must be respected.

[Question] That is understood. The Oujda Treaty provides that each country shall preserve its sovereignty. However, what happens is that difficulties arise in implementing the bilateral, detailed agreements.

[Answer] Do you have examples of this?

[Question] There is talk that the Moroccan companies which moved and now operate in Libya face certain difficulties, difficulties they did not expect.

[Answer] I assure you quite frankly and candidly that I have not heard of any complaint from anyone or any company regarding working conditions in Libya. Some of the usual problems arose, and they were overcome. For example, the Libyan government decided that Libyans would travel abroad on Libyan planes only. When officials implementing the decision asked if this measure applied to Moroccan planes, the answer was that the decision applied to all airlines except Morocco's. This problem was solved within just 1 week. It seems that some people are interested only in looking for negative features and problems.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, the purpose of the question was only to clarify the position.

[Answer] (Laughing) There! We have clarified it!

[Question] In the framework of the union between the two countries, how is coordination progressing, as far as dealing with other countries is concerned? For example, all countries of the Arab Maghreb are encountering difficulties in dealing with the European Common Market. Is there any coordination of positions between Morocco and Libya in this regard?

[Answer] I think that what you have brought up concerns all countries of the Arab Maghreb and not just the Moroccan-Libyan union. Even with regard to the two countries there is constant consultation on all problems. It is not limited to relations with the European Common Market. The important point is that the principle of consultation, coordination and unified positions is constantly present.



## Story of the Moroccan and Libyan Ministers

[Question] The agreements appended to the Oujda Treaty provide that a Moroccan minister be present in Tripoli and a Libyan minister be present in Rabat, both on a permanent basis. In this connection it has been noted that the Libyan minister is already present in Rabat, while the Moroccan minister in Tripoli has not yet been appointed. How do you explain that?

[Answer] Abdelhakim Laraki also resides permanently in Tripoli.

[Question] However Mr Laraki is in Tripoli because he is an ambassador, not a minister.

[Answer] No, he is the resident minister.

[Question] Is that his official function now?

[Answer] I believe that is his official function, and he is the resident minister!

## Deliberate Steps

[Question] Mr Secretary General, there are people who believe that perhaps the difference between the regimes in Morocco and Libya has caused certain problems in implementing the treaty of union. To what extent is it possible to confirm that this observation is right or wrong?

[Answer] We have not faced any problem since the treaty was signed. There is real backing and remarkable enthusiasm for application of the clauses of the treaty. I think that if it were not for a strong and genuine will in both countries, we would not have accomplished a great deal in an extremely short time. We have not been rash, because sometimes haste causes one to make mistakes. At each step we have felt a genuine determination on the part of officials in both countries to consolidate and firmly establish the union.

## We Do Not Pay Attention to Negative Reactions

[Question] After the treaty was signed, some countries in the West, and even in the Arab world, expressed negative reactions to this step. Did this affect the implementation and application of the terms of the treaty?

[Answer] After the signing of the Oujda Treaty was announced, and even before details of the treaty were published, reactions differed. Some were negative. However, after the Moroccan monarch's clarifications and the campaign undertaken by both countries to explain it, the true nature and purpose of this union has become evident to all. Assessments have changed, and there has been a more objective reaction. At present we are observing a steady improvement with respect to this. When Morocco and Libya decided to form a union, they expected negative attitudes on the part of nations. Despite this, the two countries were determined to continue progress toward unity.

I believe that every nation is free to express its position on the union, but this has absolutely nothing to do with steps to implement the treaty or the commitment of the two countries to move forward on the path agreed upon by the people of Morocco and Libya.

[Question] Mr Secretary General, perhaps negative reactions do not affect the decision of the two countries to form a union, but as far as practical application is concerned, maybe they cause some difficulties. For example, relations between Morocco and Algeria are passing through a period of tension. When Algerian authorities take measures to obstruct the land transit of Libyans and Moroccans to the two respective countries, do you not think that this can hinder the process of the intermingling and linkage of the two peoples sought by the Oujda Treaty?

[Answer] If what you say is true, it is a measure for which the union bears no responsibility.

[Question] However, one way or another it affects your measures to implement application of the terms of the treaty. In this case we have to search for solutions to such problems. Citizens of both countries can use air and sea transportation while awaiting a resolution of the matter with our Algerian brothers.

By my question I did not mean tourist travel, but the free transfer of capital and commercial exchange which cannot be limited to air transport alone. Since land transportation is hindered, perhaps this affects the promotion of economic and commercial relations between the two countries.

[Answer] That is true, but we have not created a union to last 1 or 2 years. The union was created to last forever. It is an irrevocable step. We are optimistic that the current tension will vanish. Then the problems and difficulties which you mentioned will come to an end. At present we are making gradual progress. We adapt ourselves to reality and strive to overcome problems.

#### A Step Toward Unity of the Arab Maghreb

[Question] In your job as secretary general of the union and with your experience in this post, do you think that there is a possibility of establishing a relationship or link between the Oujda Treaty and the Treaty of Brotherhood and Cooperation which includes Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania?

[Answer] I am convinced that there is no mutual contradiction or conflict between the two treaties. The two treaties have similar elements which may be merged in the future to create a new pact among the five parties as a basis for unity of the Arab Maghreb, especially in view of the fact that there is a strong desire to reach common ground. It is the wish of both the Moroccan monarch and Colonel al-Qadhdhafi.

[Question] While some nations have expressed reservations about the creation of the African-Arab Union, have others on the contrary expressed their desire to join this union in the future?

[Answer] The establishment of the union enters the context of Moroccan-Libyan sovereignty and the freedom of the two countries to agree on a unity measure aiming at creating objective conditions for cultural and economic integration to pave the way for total unity. There are certain Arab nations, including Tunisia, which have given their blessing to the union. There are other nations which are awaiting the practical results of the union. I think that if they become convinced that the step will achieve positive results yielding benefits to nations of the region, it is logical that they will join the union in the future. That is what happened in Europe (the European Common Market). It began with six nations. When its results became evident, other nations hastened to join it.

The union between Morocco and Libya will undoubtedly yield positive results for the Moroccan and Libyan people. Through this union, Morocco will help Libya solve its problems, and Libya will help Morocco solve its problems. In my opinion this is what is required of the union.

#### A Union Which Is 100 Percent Profitable

[Question] You mentioned that some nations are awaiting the results. On this basis, do you believe that Morocco and Libya calculated their gains and losses when they signed the agreement?

[Answer] If we contemplate matters in the long term, there is no doubt that the step is 100 percent profitable. The treaty aims at clearing the air, unifying our views and creating stability in the region, which contributes toward strengthening peace. It is a step toward convincing others that unity is necessary to solve the problems of the Arab nation. In the initial stage, if the union can create mutual understanding, halt confrontation and create conditions which inspire mutual confidence, it will be a great service to the Arab nation.

[Question] I notice that you focus on the fact that the union between Morocco and Libya aims at creating a practical and laudable formula for creating Arab unity, though the African-Arab Union is open to both Arabs and Africans. Many people feel that it is necessary to achieve Arab unity, or one cannot talk of African-Arab unity or Islamic unity. What is your analysis of this observation?

[Answer] The two nations who founded the union (Libya and Morocco) belong to both the African and Arab world at the same time. They have expressed their conviction that the union between Arabs and Africans is in everyone's interest. Therefore we are dedicated to both our Arab character and our African character. If the Arabs are the first to join the union, then the character of the union will be Arab. The same thing applies to the Africans. What is important is that we are committed to our membership in both the Arab and African world.

IRAQ

## WARTIME ATROCITIES, EXCESSES OF IRANIAN REGIME EXPOSED

Manama SADA AL-USBU' in Arabic 7 May 85 pp 16-18

[Interview with Thabit Nu'man al-'Ani, Iraq's ambassador to Bahrain; date and place not specified]

[Text] Now that Arab and Islamic views regarding the Iranian authorities, as embodied in Khomeyni's regime -- the same imperialistic, expansionist, aggressive power hostile to Arab nationalism which dreams of a Persian empire dominating and controlling the strategic mass from the Arab Gulf to the Red Sea and Mediterranean -- have become apparent, it is now certain that the Arabs' and Moslems' positions are being united against the tyrant Khomeyni, to support fraternal Iraq and protect the Arabs, Arabhood, true Islam and the Moslems from a gang that harbors rancor against Islam and leads its peoples astray through teachings which have violated the Islamic rule by using methods of oppression, violence and brutality against the Iranian people themselves, spreading an appeal for factionalism and doctrinal and racist disputes.

Therefore the First People's Islamic Conference was held in Baghdad in early April 1983. The conference issued a number of resolutions and arrived at a group of recommendations. After that, more than one Islamic conference was held which condemned the tyrannical Iranian aggression against Islamic Arab Iraq.

What, however, is the substance of this condemnation? What also are the decrees and resolutions which have been issued in these conferences?

In a special conversation which His Excellency Thabit Nu'man al-'Ani, the ambassador of the fraternal Republic of Iraq to the country, has given, we have managed to answer the questions raised and we have been able to dot the I's on the dimensions in order to see the truth and the objective meaning of the continued Iranian aggression against fraternal Iraq.

### A Committee To Monitor and Execute the Resolutions

[Question] We know that the People's Islamic Conference held on 1 April 1983 issued numerous recommendations and resolutions bearing on the Iraqi-Iranian

war. Would you be so kind, your excellency the ambassador, to shed light on the dimensions of the movement the Islamic conference has made in light of the resolutions and recommendations it adopted?

[Answer] As is well known, the first Islamic conference held in Baghdad on 1 April 1983 formed a followup committee. That constituted one of the four resolutions the Islamic conference adopted; the other three resolutions were the demand that the leaders of Iraq and Iran stop the war at once, formation of a committee of senior scholars to mediate between the two belligerent countries to carry out the appeal, and the consideration that either of them would be unjust and in violation of the will of the Moslems and would have to be politically, culturally and socially boycotted if it did not reply to the conference's resolutions.

As regards the movements of the followup committee, or the peace committee, as some Moslems call it, that performed its tasks and contacted the Iranian charge d'affaires present in Baghdad a number of times for the purpose of informing the Iranian leadership of the Moslems' desire and will as embodied in all the resolutions of the Islamic conference. After a number of days' wait, the response of the Iranian leadership came, absolutely rejecting any peace or conciliation, while President Saddam Husayn, in a speech before the conference, declared agreement to any resolution the scholars of Islam would adopt in their conference, and the Iraqi Revolutionary Command Council issued a legislative decree to that end.

So far as I know, the peace committee has moved in a number of directions for the sake of Iran's acceptance of the Moslems' resolutions and conformity to Islamic law and the provisions of Islam's holy Koran, but its attempts have not even met with a good statement from the rulers of Iran.

Why The Conference?

[Question] Why, therefore, your excellency the minister, was this second Islamic conference held, since the result of its committee's activity was the Iranian rejection?

[Answer] The peace committee the first Islamic conference formed is the one which called for the holding of this conference, which began its activities toward the end of April of this year, because it is obligated to give the results of its activities and fully inform the Moslems of the results it has reached, regardless of means and measures which will in practice lead to the isolation of the rejectionist regime from the Islamic stage and the elimination of any alleged Islamic justifications for the continuation of the war, a matter over which the rulers of Iran are trying to delude the naive members of the Iranian people.

The appeal was also made to enforce the execution of the resolutions of the first conference after hearing the statements of the peace committee which through concentrated activity over a period of 2 years monitored the execution of these Islamic resolutions and recommendations, although the People's Islamic Conference would by necessity guarantee that the necessary measures were adopted to isolate the tyrannical party which was insisting on

aggression in the Islamic community. After the committee had sent the invitation to hold the second Islamic conference, senior Moslems from all areas of the world attended their second conference. The conference included Islamic personalities, scholars of religion and ministers of religious endowments, including 190 persons representing 17 Arab countries, 110 Islamic personalities from 23 Islamic countries, 60 other personalities from 13 African countries, 35 religious figures and Islamic personalities from 11 European and American countries and in addition representatives of Islamic movements and groupings in India and Pakistan, a large delegation from the noble al-Azhar, the representative of his eminence the sheikh of al-Azhar, the secretary general of the League of the Islamic World, prominent scholars from Syria and Libya and a number of Islamic jurists and thinkers.

### The Corruption of the Authorities in Iran!

After the peace committee had informed the conference about the facts of the issues the rulers of Iran had discussed with the committee, through which it arrived at no results except the rejection of peace, the continuation of war and a blatant challenge to the will of the Moslems, the Second People's Islamic Conference adopted the following resolutions and recommendations:

1. The rulers of Iran are considered a clique of tyrants practicing corruption on earth and fighting God, his prophets and the Moslems, not just Iraq; from now on out they may be called "the tyrannical group."
2. The tyrannical rulers of Iran bear the religious, historic and moral responsibility for destroying lives, shedding blood, destroying civilized projects and weakening Islamic power, which ought to have been devoted to the resurgence of the countries, the struggle against the enemies of Islam and opposition to the Zionist ambitions whose curse has spread because this power has been in abeyance and put out of use.
3. The Moslems in this case, governments, peoples, bodies, unions and societies, must stand up to the tyrannical rulers of Iran to compel them to submit to God's rule.
4. The scholars, thinkers and leaders of Islamic action must inform the nation that Islamic law condemns the tyrannical rulers of Iran and inform them of the practical measures which must be adopted regarding the tyrannical group which will result in the suppression of their tyranny and aggression, according to their powers and circumstances.
5. Proceeding from the need to boycott the tyrannical group, thwart its evils, repel its danger, ward its acts of corruption away from the Arab and Islamic nation and break its aggressive powers, the conference considers it necessary to boycott it politically, economically, militarily and culturally and expose its corrupt intellectual platform.

### The Political Aspect

1. The conference requests the Islamic governments to adopt clear, bold positions condemning the tyrannical clique which has refused and refuses to



conform to God's writ and turn toward peace and to boycott the tyrannical Iranian regime, its aggression against Moslems and the continued initiation of aggression against Iraq.

2. It requests the Islamic governments to cut off their diplomatic relations with the Iranian regime, which has not given weight to the principles of Islam and has not acknowledged international agreements and charters.
3. It requests that Khomeyni's regime be expelled from international, Islamic and regional organizations, that its membership in them be suspended, that the representative of the Iranian regime be kept from being invited to the conferences and symposia the Islamic countries and bodies organize, and that they be replaced by representatives of the Iranian people in the presence of the free leaders of Iran.
4. The cooperation in arms procurement between the Iranian and Zionist regimes and the explanation of the dangers threatening Islamic and world peace through cooperation between these two racist regimes [must be] exposed.
5. Everyone helping the tyrannical Iranian regime and supporting it materially, militarily or politically in countries and organizations and among individuals [must be] exposed and considered to be partners in the tyranny and aggression against Iraq in particular and the Moslems in general.

#### The Economic and Military Aspect

The objective that is hoped for from the economic boycott of Khomeyni's regime is the destruction of his military machine, the crushing of his tyrannical forces and the weakening of his powers, which help him tyrannize, commit aggression, continue to fight, and destroy Iranian and Iraqi powers in particular and Islamic ones in general. The strength of its economy is leading it to arrogance, tyranny, the violation of Moslems and aggression against them, while the economic boycott of it will result in weakening it and compelling and driving it to seek refuge in submitting to peace. The conference demands:

1. Abstention from commercial dealings with Khomeyni's regime and the suspension of all types of commerce with it.
2. The demand that the Islamic governments and the other governments of the world calling for security and peace abstain from buying Iranian oil, which has represented the greatest assistance to the continuation of the tyranny, through the amounts it provides for this aggressive regime which result in strengthening its continued aggression.
3. Pressure [must be put] on governments and companies for the sake of ceasing to provide the bloody Khomeyni regime with military equipment and spare parts which help it strengthen the instrument of tyranny and aggression.
4. Islamic countries [must be urged] to cut off all means of communication with the Khomeyni regime, including cables, telephones and postal service.

## The Cultural Aspect

1. Prohibiting cultural dealings with Khomeyni's regime in all its forms.
2. Prohibiting the importation of books and publications printed in Iran by Islamic countries and seeking to avoid promotion of and commerce in them.
3. Abstaining from accepting Iranian students whom Khomeyni's regime nominates for Islamic universities and schools and replacing them with students whom the free Iranians nominate.
4. Abstaining from inviting representatives of the Iranian regime to take part in any Iranian cultural project.
5. Expelling the representatives of the Iranian regime from all international, regional and Islamic cultural organizations.
6. The Moslems' scholars, writers and thinkers must condemn the tyrannical Iranian regime by every possible means, and no self-respecting Moslem must fail to direct every opportunity for the propagation of culture in the form of books, magazines, bulletins, papers, podiums and radio stations toward ridding the nation of this great repugnant force. They must also observe every violation of the Moslems' consensus after people's views have become clear and the categorical facts have appeared to reply to it, crush it intellectually and boycott it culturally with the unquestioned danger it represents to Islam and the Moslems through its loyalty to the tyrannical group and support for its tyranny, despotism and wrongfully propagated program. Those people who meet the following descriptions will be answered:

People whose continued membership in societies whose partiality toward action on behalf of Khomeyni's regime and its political and corrupt intellectual premises has been proved.

People who have made deliberate propaganda on behalf of Khomeyni's regime through writings, speeches, press interviews, radio and television.

People who have made material or moral contributions to Khomeyni's regime or the organizations connected to it.

## Exposing the Intellectual Platform of Khomeyni's Tyrannical Regime

The seriousness of the platform on whose basis Khomeyni is proceeding in terms of thought, conduct, practice, his contestation of Islamic belief, his derogation of the leaders of Islam on every occasion and his statement "the prophets and messengers have not brought about justice" has become well known to every self-respecting Moslem. The final prophet (on whom be God's prayers and peace) has not been excluded from that, indeed, the platform has alleged on more than one occasion that he has not realized any of that justice, that the Koranic truth is deficient and that the Koran is under a cover -- not to speak of dozens of examples in which this regime and its symbols have violated the essence of Islamic beliefs through the books they have set down in writing and the statements that have been uttered in their



speeches and meetings. Therefore, it has become an obligation of the Moslems to stand up to this serious matter by all available means.

6 [sic]. The conference requests the perseverant Iranian peoples to escalate their struggle against this evil clique, and it urges the scholars of Iran who adhere to the Islamic bond to bear their duty in Islamic law by exposing Khomeyni's regime and its frank violation of the teachings of Islam, enlightening the Moslem masses in Iran of the grievous dangers which threaten their country and the Islamic world through the continued control over their resources by the tyrannical Khomeyni clique and exerting every effort to bring it down and get rid of its evils and corrupt acts.

These resolutions are directed to fighting the tyrannical Khomeyni and the boycott is oriented toward the destruction of his aggressive machine, which has brought ruin and destruction to Iran. The oppressed peoples of Iran occupy a lofty place in the consciences of the Moslems in Iraq and the entire Islamic world.

7. The conference severely condemns the Iranian regime's reprehensible crimes in murdering the Iraqi prisoners of war, whose killing God has forbidden, and subjecting them to punishment by way of example -- indeed, recently, on 10 October 1984, perpetrating the most vile crime when it killed prisoners isolated from the sight and hearing of representatives of the International Red Cross Organization, provoking the rage of Moslems and the condemnation of the international community and Islamic and international organizations.

The conference demands that an urgent, immediate solution be found to the tragedy of the prisoners, which will be carried out by executing a comprehensive exchange of prisoners.

8. The conference stipulates that Iraq, in standing up to the aggressive Iranian tyranny, is to be considered the deterrent barrier protecting the Arabs and the Moslems from the greatest danger they are facing, and therefore the conference requests all Arab countries to commit themselves to the application of the Arab Mutual Defense Charter in order to drive this aggression away from the countries and worshippers. It also calls on the Islamic conference organization to apply the constitution of Islam, pass judgment on the tyrant and condemn him in order to expose his tyranny and aggression.

9. The conference decided to consider 25 April of every year, the day these resolutions were issued, Iraq Day; during it, the Islamic world will express its solidarity with and support for Moslem Iraq, describe its noble role in defending the belief, heritage and civilization of Islam, expose the tyrannical regime in Iran and lay bare its futile acts, acts of corruption and connection to the enemies of Islam.

10. The conference has resolved to form a followup committee which will adopt Baghdad as its headquarters, determine the policies, programs and practical measures which will guarantee that the resolutions and recommendations of the conference are carried out and will follow up on the activity, doings and efforts of the members of the conference, with the provision that the conference meet every 3 months by invitation of its secretary general.

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ISRAEL

# PROFILE OF ENERGY MINISTER MOSHE SHAHAL

Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 3 May 85 Weekend Magazine pp 6-8, 20

[Article by Avi Betelheim: "Moshe Shahal, Energy Minister, Middle of the Road"]

[Text] When Shimon Peres announced his decision to include Moshe Shahal in the cabinet by offering him the Energy portfolio, a veteran political reporter for one of the newspapers said, "Now there is no doubt that they will find oil in Israel." This is because wherever Shahal has been involved, things have gone his way. If he were appointed minister of defense, then Peres could truly guarantee that there would be no more Katyushas falling in Qiryat Shemona. Shahal is one man whom luck has never abandoned.

They have not found oil yet, but Shahal is searching to the fullest extent and will not give up until he finds some. Meanwhile he is doing very well in the other areas under his jurisdiction. The 49 year-old minister of energy and infrastructure has been very fortunate. And the national unity government, of which he is a member, came from out of the blue. Only in such a problematic and very unstable government can a man like Shahal push his way to prominence, build himself up amid the crises and attain stature amid the scandals.

The energy minister has eased his disappointment at not receiving his longed for Justice portfolio in his capacity as the "government's lawyer." Every coalition problem adds color to his bright face; every administration dispute helps the young Haifi resident, one of Aba Hushi's disciples, in his upward climb. In his defense it must be said that he recognizes his limitations, but covers them with characteristics with which he was blessed: intelligence, shrewdness, negotiating ability, problem solving, skillful phrasing, command of material and indefatigability. Friends and rivals alike attest that he is an excellent minister and strong worker. Moshe Shahal has reached the top also and perhaps mainly, because of his continuing loyalty to the chairman of the Labor party, Shimon Peres. He gambled on Peres, and displayed consistency and stability during Peres' difficult periods, when political commentators had sealed the books on his political career. Shahal did not abandon him, an extraordinary occurrence in Israeli politics. On the eve of the most recent elections, when the leaders of the Yithaq Navon faction attempted to hitch Shahal to their wagon, he turned them down by saying that he preferred to die as a man than to die from dysentery.

Shahal is the prime minister's man. Peres consults with him on many issues, asks for his opinions and bestows on him the authority to act as his agent on more than one occasion to perform some "dirty" political tasks, such as mediating on his behalf. As a minister of the second rank, Shahal benefits from a unique relationship with the prime minister's office. But not only there. More than once the two have conferred in the middle of the night at Peres' residence. Both men are used to working 20 hours a day. They do not require more than 4 or 5 hours of sleep. Shahal can reach his Jerusalem hotel at 10 pm, review material until midnight and then speak with Peres on the telephone. The prime minister will say to him, "Come over, let's have something to drink." The energy minister, who only rarely will be caught yawning (the same can be said of Peres), will walk over to Peres' home. The two will have something to drink, make phone calls to settle some items and synchronize their stances on current political issues.

In the last election campaign, Shahal suffered a disappointment. He hoped to receive the job of chairmanship of the Labor party's election campaign, but to his surprise the appointment fell into the hands of Mota Gur. However, Shahal, who is polished in other facets besides his physical appearance, did not allow his intimates to discern any disappointment in his face or his behavior. "Mota's coup" did not give him any wrinkles. And when he was chosen to lead his party's propaganda effort (which, of course, made him subservient to the chairman), he acted as if this job was his life's desire. "Everything's OK with me" is one of Moshe Shahal's most important calling cards.

One can find additional similarities between Shahal and Peres. Both have patience and nerves of steel. They can sit for hours and days in discussion, trying to find solutions without raising their voices, getting nervous or showing signs of fatigue. Their vigor weakens their adversary and saps his confidence. Both have a phenomenal memory and ability to speedread material, to etch it into their brains and to record the main points. Both have the ability to get close to people and turn them, at least temporarily, into friends.

People also give Shahal credit for a well-developed imagination. During the 7 years of Likud rule, Shahal (then leader of the Labor opposition) was "wise" to impress upon Peres, then head of the Labor party, the belief that the Begin government and the Shamir government that followed would collapse at any moment. Peres followed Shahal's prophetic mood more than once; both fantasized and calculated that the Likud government would collapse at any moment, and bring about a redemption. But the Messiah never came.

Moshe Shahal was born in 1936 in Baghdad, Iraq. In 1950, he immigrated to Israel and grew up in a transit camp. From a tender age he did not hide his intentions to reach a senior position by dint of his own energies. He built himself up, stubbornly studying economics, sociology and political science at Haifa University; he received a law degree from the faculty of laws at Tel Aviv University.

He began his public activities in 1959 with the Haifa labor council, at the same time he was building an impressive career as a lawyer. He reached the Knesset in 1971, and became a well-known attorney as a partner in the long-established firm of Lifshitz-Salomon. His business affairs made him wealthy and brought him fame. Among the cases in Shahal's care were the purchase of two coaling ships and their subsequent sale to Zim, the sale of Rassco to a group of South African investors and the Mabat group of Ya'aqov Meridor and Mila Brenner, the sale of majority stock ownership in the construction firm Zakharyah Drucker to Solel Boneh, the sale of Paz shares held by foreign investors, representing Koor in its legal battle with Danot over the latter's acquisition of Teva, representing several plaintiffs against the owners of the sunken ship Matzada, and representing BMW and its Israeli agency.

"I never did any brokering. It's even beneath my dignity to discuss this. People will always badmouth those who are successful. The law clearly forbids lawyers to receive broker's fees. It's true that in many instances I've received compensation in excess of what is normally accepted as broker's fees, but it should be understood that this was always in the context of representing a client." Of the criticism pointed at him over his representation of Ya'aqov Meridor, a strong political rival, Shahal responds, "as Hayim Tzadoq once said, I represent only a client, not his ideas. Would Meridor not be able to represent me?" In spite of this, he readily admits that there were times that he refused to represent a client. Over 4 years ago he was approached (so was Roni Milo, also a Knesset member-lawyer) to represent the settlement Qarnay Shomron. "I refused, because, to my knowledge, it may have damaged my reputation. Even though I lost \$400,000, I didn't bat an eyelash." During his years of public activity, Shahal has been chairman of the Israeli Consumer Council, a member of the Israeli delegation to the European Council, a member of the Inter-Parliamentary Association, vice-chairman of the Knesset, chairman of the Labor Alignment and currently serves as the minister of energy. He is married and has a son and daughter.

Shahal is a political technocrat of the type that can compete annually for Excellent Worker award. His exactness and attention to detail are astounding, and he always projects a positive image. Knesset member Yosi Sarid said, "Shahal has no stomach to deal with issues halfheartedly; he plans for every appearance as if it were his first. He is like a teacher, who after 25 years of teaching still prepares the next day's fourth grade lesson."

Shahal is not ashamed of this. On the eve of his departure to Egypt (a successful trip in which he takes great pride) he spent whole days in preparation. He conferred with the prime minister, the foreign minister, Minister Ezer Weizmann; he was assisted by Professor Shimon Shamir and conferred with the head of the Egyptian section in the Foreign Ministry and with the head of the Egyptian desk at the General Staff. He also hired an individual so that he could polish his Arabic and met with the director of Television, Yosef Bar-El, so that he could become more familiar with his hosts and know how to act in their company. He even gathered together

a group of political reporters for a private chat in his office in order to bring him up to date on current Israeli-Egyptian relations. He spent time finding out Egyptian Oil Minister 'Abd-al-Hadi's favorite brand of cigars; his aides scurried about Jerusalem to locate a box.

Neatness and order are probably the energy minister's greatest loves. Even on weekdays he dresses like a bridegroom. He admits that his large wardrobe is one of his weaknesses. His hair (natural) is immaculately groomed, and he is always clean-shaven, both at the beginning and the end of his workday. Although the average man has at least the beginnings of a beard by evening, the same is not true for Shahal.

The trash can next to his desk is usually empty; Shahal just does not throw anything away. Every note and piece of paper is carefully filed in its appropriate place. Shahal's political archives, part of which is in his car trunk so that he has immediate access to it, would be excellent material for research and a biography. The political history of the state of Israel is filed by issue in Shahal's trunk.

Shahal does not keep only files with him. In his trunk he keeps a full wardrobe of distinguished and well-pressed clothing, as well as a first aid kit, a sewing kit, and other items. After reaching his Cairo hotel, Shahal inspected the gifts that he brought for top Egyptian officials. He opened several of the packages to decide which gift should go to which official; while opening the packages, Shahal ruined some of the tape that wrapped the packages. The energy minister simply opened one of his suitcases, took out a roll of tape, another of the emergency items that he always carries with him. He even had wrapping paper in his suitcase.

His capacity is astounding. The list of issues that he deals with simultaneously goes on forever. He is a member of 11 ministerial committees, and since the government was formed he has participated in innumerable coalition crises, among them, Ata, Shas-Mafdal, the State Comptroller's report on the bank stock crisis, "Who is a Jew" legislation, and the budget crisis. In his role as liaison between the government and the Knesset, Shahal has participated in many other issues as well.

Shahal has time for everything, and always has a smile on his face. He is a man who does not easily anger, and when he raises his voice it is mainly as a tactic. He will never complain that he is overburdened and has no time. Some say that if he had partners he would have time to meet with them only while waiting for the traffic light to change from red to green.

He has a natural shrewdness and the typical smoothness of a seasoned attorney. Shahal instigated Yitzhaq Moda'i against Ari'el Sharon during the political appointee controversy, mainly in order to sabotage the burgeoning political alliance between Sharon and Moda'i, but at the same time Shahal maintained close relations with Sharon, thus obeying the familiar saw "know thine own enemy." "We are the only true Mapainiks in this government," Shahal once said to the minister of trade and industry. (During one of Shahal's

visits to Sharon's office, Arik took great pride in his loyalty to the government, pointing out pictures on the wall behind his desk and saying, "see, I've hung up both Hayim Hertzog and Shimon Peres." Shahal answered, humorously, that it wasn't too pleasant to hear the word "hang" from Sharon's mouth, to which Sharon replied that there was nothing to worry about, in another one and half years he will also hang Yitzhaq Shamir.)

In September 1984, after completing a coalition agreement document for the establishment of a national unity government and obtaining the approval of his party's leaders, Shahal had a meeting with the Likud representative, Justice Minister Moshe Nisim. Shahal took out from his briefcase a different typed version, which was less favorable to the Likud, and began negotiating with Nisim. After several hours, Shahal "capitulated," accepted the logical claims put forth by his counterpart, and "agreed" to draft a compromise document, which was essentially the same document already approved by the Labor party leaders.

He is an international master at cultivating contacts. An expert at "sending bread across the waters," both in his party and personal interests, Shahal attests that he "plans for the long range."

As for his close connections with the leaders of Mafdal [National Religious Party], Shahal has been careful to cultivate a relationship with Interior Minister Yitzhaq Peretz, a member of the Shas party, since the start of coalition negotiations. He is also considered a member of the family at the home of Rabbi Ovadyah Yosef, the spiritual leader of the Shas party. Before each visit there, Shahal studies the portion of the week and prepares quotations that he will use in the course of conversation. He has both a knitted and a black skullcap, and he knows when to use each of them. He knows the religious parties both inside and outside, he is an expert on their internal battles and he displays expertise on very emotional details. Shahal knows when to visit Zevulun Hammer and when to visit Rafa'el Ben-Natan, when to talk to Avraham Shapira and when to talk to Menahem Porush. During the course of a crisis that Shahal was involved in, Shimon Peres said to him, "I don't really understand what you are doing, but I trust you."

When Shahal received an invitation to attend the circumcision ceremony of Rabbi Ovadyah Yosef's grandchild, he cancelled a visit to the North and came especially to Jerusalem. He was the only minister from the Labor party to attend the ceremony, and Rabbi Yosef greeted him warmly, "You are one of us." When Menahem Porush called him and informed him that workers in the electric utility were desecrating the Sabbath, Shahal immediately looked into the matter and ordered the work to be stopped. The religious newspapers HA'MODIA and EREV SHABAT regularly praise Moshe Shahal for his concern for sanctifying the Sabbath.

Shahal always looks forward into the future, to be prepared for any event. For example, he has expended much time and effort to cultivating an emerging, small Liberal option. Shahal has calculated that after the unification of the Likud bloc those Liberals that opposed the merger will form an



independent party that at best might gain one or two Knesset seats. For this unlikely contingency, Shahal has developed a special relationship with the mayor of Rehovoth, Yehezqel Harmeleh, and Shahal has not fired him from his post in the directorate of the electric utility, although the latter has missed many management meetings. For this reason alone, Shahal had legally dismissed three other Liberal members. He has appointed Yitzhaq Berman as chairman of the advisory council on crude oil purchases, and he plans to appoint Menahem Savidor as a working chairman of one of the government-owned firms under the jurisdiction of the Energy Ministry.

But Shahal does not only worry about his party, he also worries about Shahal. It is likely that he has appointed more political appointees than any other minister in the national unity government. Many of his supporters have received advisorial and directional positions in the companies under his jurisdiction.

Yaron Ron was appointed as a political adviser; Shahal apparently could find no other more appropriate candidate for this job. Ron, who is 27 years old, and has recently completed the requirements for a master's degree in Islamic studies, is as ambitious as Shahal, and has unbounded loyalty to Shahal. Yaron Ron has said that Shahal does not need advisers, but good assistants.

Moshe Shahal's critics claim that one of his chief weaknesses is a lack of honesty. Says Yosi Sarid, "If Shahal would write his autobiography, I would suggest he title it 'My Struggle with the Truth'. He doesn't always get along with the truth. At times it is superfluous and difficult, but at least he is not one of those who roll their eyes to the skies and whine. When he is caught, fine, no problem, it's part of the game. Shahal has raised political manipulation to a very high level. For him, everything is legitimate; truth is an issue which he is not embarrassed to discuss."

Courage is also not one of his outstanding characteristics. Those who believed that Shahal would solve once and for all the controversy over the free electricity given to electric workers were mistaken. He checked the matter but quickly abandoned it, by saying that it was not a matter for the Energy Ministry to deal with.

He has also not shown much courage in elucidating his political beliefs. Over the past few years, Shahal has avoided sensitive issues and has not made his views clear. It is hard to discern whether he is a hawk or a dove. In preparation for this article, Shahal agreed to clear up his political beliefs (see insert) and announced, "I represent the center of the MAPAI party."

Others also claim that Shahal likes to grab headlines that do not belong to him. Senior people in the Labor party claim that although a joint group from Labor and Likud formulated the basic political and economic policies, Shahal boasts that he wrote the coalition agreement himself. According to these same people, Shahal has also taken credit for leading the negotiations with France for the purchase of a nuclear reactor, in spite of the

fact that the prime minister gave this delicate and secret assignment to Artur Ben-Natan and Tzvi Tzur.

To his adversaries and critics alike Shahal can respond with favorable surveys. Polls that were conducted on the eve of the Knesset election have shown Shahal to be an effective and much sought after speaker; in a "report card" done by two newspapers on the National Unity government upon completion of its first 6 months, Shahal scored high marks, a 9 and an 8. A poll conducted a month ago on the public's assessment of its leaders shows Shahal in second place, behind Yitzhaq Navon and ahead of Yitzhaq Rabin.

The energy minister has navigated his political career between the raindrops, expending much care not to harm individuals and create additional enemies. In spite of this, he has not totally refrained from confrontation: He fought with Haifa Mayor Aryeh Gural over a professional matter dealing with Haifa's oil refineries (since then the two have made up over dinner at a Haifa fish restaurant), he fought with Finance Minister Yitzhaq Moda'i over the oil exploration scheme of an investor group led by billionaire Armand Hammer and he got into a verbal battle with Science Minister Gid'on Patt over the acquisition of the nuclear reactors.

Shahal's appointment as a minister exposed a deep rivalry between himself and Knesset Member Rafi Adri, head of the Labor faction in the Knesset. Adri on Shahal, "He is guilty of character assassination. I am the administrator of the 'Worker's Establishment,' a far larger position than that of a small ministry such as the Energy Ministry. There are those who excel at speaking and public relations and others that cut everything to pieces."

Shahal on Adri, "Adri is frustrated that he is not a minister, and he is eating his heart out that he is not playing violinist on coalition issues. He has a lot to learn."

But even here everything has been forgiven, and over a Tel Aviv hotel dinner the two shook hands and pronounced a cease-fire.

Not too long ago Shahal suffered a political loss in his own city, Haifa. In the election for secretary of the Haifa district he supported a worker's committee member, Yehudah Ben-Nun, who was also supported by the Rabin faction. Opposing him was another worker's committee member, Dov Garfunkel, who was backed by the mayor and the secretary of the worker's committee. Garfunkel was also supported by Shimon Peres and by Party Chairman Uzi Baram. Garfunkel was eventually elected, a sign to Shahal that Haifa was not in his pocket.

Education Minister Yitzhaq Navon said not long ago that if Shahal was not a member of this government it is unlikely that the coalition agreement would have held water. Yosi Sarid has said of him, "I value quality, courage and ability. Shahal is a partner at the table, a serious individual, not a lightweight."



Moshe Shahal is not blinded by his success. He is building his future and is convinced that there are important positions ahead of him. He never used his Oriental background to advance himself politically. Neither Iraq nor transit camps led him to the table of government, but rather his quality and ability.

Just as there were those who belittled him as a Haifa worker's committee activist and doubted his ability to succeed on a national level, there are those who break out in laughter when asked whether Shahal is capable of one day being a candidate for the prime ministership. But one of the senior officials in the Labor party has said in connection to this that "if the future battle over the party leadership is decided by a knock-out, then Shahal has no chance. But if it's a long drawn out battle that will be decided on points, Shahal will be a serious aspirant with excellent chances."

[Boxed insert, p 7: "I am worth \$400,000"]

"I am good for between \$200,000 and \$400,000 each year," evaluates Attorney Moshe Shahal. Today, as a Cabinet minister, Shahal earns several tens of thousands of dollars a year.

This is the only minister for whom a Volvo represents a "fall." And it is no surprise. One who is used to tearing up the roads in his Mercedes SLA can understandably get back pains in a modest Volvo.

"There is no doubt that I suffered a significant drop in annual income. My fee rate as an attorney reached as high as \$300 an hour, half of my monthly income as a Cabinet minister. for a Supreme Court case, I would charge between \$15,000 and \$20,000. However, money didn't stop me. I love politics; I didn't hesitate for a second and I have no regrets."

The energy minister claims that he lives from his savings, but there is no reason to take pity on him. According to the recommendations of the Asher Committee, Shahal enjoys a regular income from renting out his share in the partnership of his Haifa law firm, including compensation on completed cases on which he worked before his appointment as a minister.

He owns two beautiful villas (in Danya, above the Carmel, where he lives, and in Caesaria) and three cars. One of them is a Mercedes which, although he has an official car, is still parked outside his home. Shahal claims that he has been trying to sell it for months, but apparently has had no success.

[Boxed insert, p 8: "I don't Drink, Boast or Pop Pills...."]

[Question] Mr. Shahal, do you ever get a chance to go home?

[Answer] That has become a serious problem since I've become a minister. I leave Haifa Sunday morning and return Thursday night. Fridays and Saturdays

are generally devoted to my family. There is no doubt that my wife is a help in the true meaning of the word. She is a willing partner and has given her full agreement that I should do whatever it takes to advance my career. During our entire marriage there have been only three or four vacations. In order to be with the family we normally have a family dinner every Friday. Twice a month we try to find time to take the children out to a restaurant so that they can learn some refinement of the palate.

[Question] Do you have hobbies?

[Answer] Until 2 years ago I played tennis, but due to work pressures I had to quit. I collect matchbooks from around the world and I also have a large collection of pipes. I love aesthetics, and order is very important to me. You won't find a piece of paper around me. Everything must be orderly. Even my method of thinking is fundamental; it generally takes me 4 days to prepare for a 5-minute presentation. I don't waste a comma, I don't shoot from the hip and I am not a spontaneous person.

[Question] When was the last time that you read a book or visited the theater?

[Answer] Every day I read books. I never go to sleep before reading from a book. My reading capacity is huge because of my photographic memory. I read 100 to 150 pages a day. Just now I've finished Abba Eban's book, but I especially love to read English thrillers by Le Carre and Ludlum. I haven't seen a movie or a show in years.

[Question] How do you manage to keep up your physical condition, what's your secret?

[Answer] Perhaps because I enjoy what I do. I don't pop pills, I don't play any sports, I simply love what I do. This gives me strength. I learned from the veterans of MAPAI, who began living at midnight and subdued their opponents through their survival instincts and stamina.

[Question] Are you a dove or a hawk? Where do you stand?

[Answer] I consider myself a part of the MAPAI center. In the early stages of my career I was with the hawks, but I have undergone a maturation process and have become a sober political realist. I don't think that it makes much sense to take a hard political line that would reject any possibility of talking with the Arab nations. I truly believe in the Labor party platform. This is the path to take. I know that there has been criticism that I didn't publicly air my views during the past few years. But you must understand that ahead of the Labor faction I forced myself not to take sides. We had a party composed of extremists on both sides so I didn't want to take a side. Today it is easier for me to state my views and I am interested in clarifying my positions.

If there is anything that I regret, it is not speaking up about the Lebanon war at its start. I restrained myself and represented the party's views

as they were decided during the war, rather than speaking up clearly from the first day. And I am not saying this now because there is no more argument on the war and that everyone agrees that it was a mistake. In internal party forums I clearly came out against the war but it pains me that I didn't say the same things in public.

As for the Taba issue, there were those who advised me not to state my views because it is an unpopular issue. But I didn't accept this. As a minister I cannot permit myself to be uncommitted. If I run into trouble on a topic that I believe in, this is preferable to sitting quietly in the government. In a private talk with the prime minister I said to him that there are some issues on which one can tactically compromise, but not Taba because it's been totally blown out of proportion on both sides. There is no way that Taba should be an obstacle in the path of the huge potential of the peace agreement with Egypt.

I am for the territorial compromise within the framework of the Labor party platform, which centers about a defense boundary. Peace would require a period of testing and adjustment. Without a period of time to calm things down and ensure that there substantive meaning to peace, I will not recommend or support any adventure. And when King Husayn says on Arab television that he is for peace with Israel, in my eyes, that is worth no less than the treaty he will sign with us. I am for compromise. Without compromise there is no solution to the problems of the region.

[Question] Would you describe yourself as a leader?

[Answer] If you are speaking about a leader who goes to the masses and leads hundreds of thousands of marchers to demonstrations, no. I am a leader in the framework of a political movement, within the norms of management, responsibility and the desire to persuade others. Across the world and in Israel a new style of political leader is growing. The era which gave us leaders such as Ben Gurion and Begin is no more.

[Question] Have you any weaknesses?

[Answer] Certainly, just as any other person. I am very sensitive to what is written and said about me. I don't deny the luxuries that I allow myself, such as clothes and automobiles. I know that it is a target of criticism, perhaps justly, but I can't give up these things. These are my weaknesses. Other than those, to the best of my knowledge, there are none. I don't drink, I don't dance and I don't boast.

[Question] What is your next step? The prime ministership?

[Answer] I am content with what I'm currently doing. I take politics seriously. I started my political career on the lowest rung, and I have obtained a great deal of experience. I never come to a meeting or debate without knowing what I'm talking about. Currently, the limits of my ambition are within a professional context only. Those who already at this stage proclaim themselves candidates for prime minister are perhaps feeding their

egos. From the beginning it was clear to me that I wanted to reach the top of the pyramid. There is no doubt that it's a natural impulse, which in its proper time I will attempt to achieve. But I just want to be one of the horses that reach the starting line fresh. The others, just from the talk of their candidacies, are liable to reach there weary.

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ISRAEL

## JUDAEA-SAMARIA DEVELOPMENT COMPANY EXAMINED

'Ofra NEQUDA in Hebrew 1 Mar 85 pp 6-7

[Interview with Dr. Yosef Drezin, director general of the Judaea-Samaria Development Company, by Yehoshu'a Zohar; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Why did you establish Saba?

[Answer] The primary reason for establishing the firm was to build a large economic corps to develop the economy in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. The company deals with projects on an economic basis, with local industry designed for the needs of the region.

[Question] Do you think the founders saw and still see before them the example of the workers union that brought economic strength to the Labor Movement?

[Answer] Yes. We see the workers unions as an example in the positive sense, without the unions' corruption. We told ourselves: Let's set up the economic bases in building, in industry and in all other fields, that will in time provide for an independent economy. This will ensure the continued development of the region, unrelated to -- or at least not directly related to -- political networks that might be antagonistic.

[Question] How does Saba work?

[Answer] Saba tries to combine a number of tactics. First, we are trying to use the regional councils' capabilities, transforming them into economic assets. Second, we want to enlist the aid of political factions interested in developing the region. We tell them that our firm's profits, when there are profits, will be used only toward further economic development. Third, our firm has one major advantage over every other firm in that we are situated in the territory. This fact helps us win contracts. For example, one of the reasons that we won the contract to build the scientific center in Ari'el was the opinion of the parties in question that Saba, more than any other firm, would have an interest in completing the project. There is no possibility that we would desert a site in the middle of construction for some irrelevant consideration.

[Question] How long will it be before Saba becomes an important faction in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza?

[Answer] When I took the position as general manager of Saba, in September 1983, we decided on principle that the firm would not move slowly from small to big jobs, but would immediately go for the big time. This involves a great deal of risk, but herein also lies the opportunity. We don't have the time to develop a small project, to succeed at that and then take on a slightly larger project, and so on. That method is called growing in turn, and many serious companies have developed in that way. I claim that Saba was founded too late and in view of the circumstances, we have no time to develop by degrees.

We are looking for partners who are interested in cooperating with us because we are involved in the territory. Therefore, we have today a considerable number of subsidiaries, with whom we cooperate (see box).

[Question] Does Saba seek to free Judaea, Samaria and Gaza from their budgetary dependence on the government?

[Answer] The hope is to centralize the power and strength to the point where we will be able to work even without government appropriations. We have not yet reached that point. We are still young, but in a short time, our work has been very successful in a very large scope. In a short time, the firm accumulated assets and rights worth more than \$1 million. A year and a half ago, we started with nothing.

[Question] What are the firm's short-term goals?

[Answer] I would like to gather \$10 million in investments to sink into projects that require a total investment of \$50 million. We are preparing a forecast to convince international investors to enter into partnerships with us.

There is another idea for which we have not yet determined the need. I am referring to the suggestion that residents of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza purchase stocks in the company.

[Question] In that reference, is there a possibility that Saba will go public?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] When?

[Answer] If our current pace of activity continues, I estimate that we may go public within a year and a half. Of course, this also depends on the situation on the stock market. It is possible that Saba itself will not go on the exchange, but only subsidiaries or specific projects.

[Question] One of the problems plaguing people in the settlements today is the problem of developing employment opportunities. Does Saba plan to do anything in this area?

[Answer] One of Saba's primary concerns will be developing regional industry and tourism in the settlements. The problem lies in the acquisition of capital. Right now, we want to get down to building the scientific center in Ari'el,

which will provide jobs for all of Samaria and may even attract new settlers. We are working with well known industrial firms to establish joint ventures in Bet-Yatir, in northern Samaria, in Barkan and other locations. They came to us and we turned with them to the settlements and councils, based on Saba's demands and the needs of the region. Even our central office was established with the idea of providing employment for the settlement of Yaqir.

[Question] Are you trying to dominate the economy of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza?

[Answer] No! We would like to be the nucleus around which private enterprise will revolve. We want to make money in some reasonable way and grow to reasonable proportions. We have no desire to dominate or to become a monopoly.

[Question] Is Saba really unique or is it just another economic firm whose area of activity happens to be Judaea, Samaria and Gaza?

[Answer] We are unique in that we combine economic and technical services of the highest quality with a deep desire to develop Judaea, Samaria and Gaza, and a broad vision of the needs and realities of the territory. No other firm is like us in these regards.

[Question] Does today's economic and political situation in Israel effect Saba?

[Answer] Unfortunately, the answer is yes. The flow of government investments in economic projects in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza was completely cut off since the economy was frozen. Projects in progress, even those that have been approved, are being "held up." In this situation, even investors and promoters who planned to work with Saba are delaying their activities. The break in the wave of settlement due to political considerations, including areas of private enterprise, harms the construction projects and delays projects such as the establishment of a settlement in Nisanit on the Gaza Strip, and others. I would like to emphasize here that in my opinion this situation will continue to become worse unless the residents of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza can effect a modicum of change in the political line which in actuality prevails in the area, and unless tremendous resources are invested to implement projects.

#### [Box on p 7] A Strong Economy

Yosi Drezin, 44, is a native of Haifa who attended Bne 'Akiva, served in Nahal (Yavne corps) and received graduate and post-graduate degrees from the Technion in agricultural engineering. Later he traveled to the United States, where he completed a doctorate in systems engineering. Before joining Saba, Drezin worked for the firm of Megorot. His penultimate position was development planning manager. In the framework of this position he planned and implemented the operation to bring water lines to settlements in Samaria. Most recently, he was responsible, he says, for the "strategic development" of the firm.

He was a candidate for the highest position in that firm, but left to accept the challenge of Saba. His position as general manager of Saba dates from September 1983. The firm was officially established 1 year prior to that, but did not begin functioning as a company until Drezin's arrival. Yosi speaks



enthusiastically about the economic development of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. He is convinced that the first stage of developing settlement as a process is completed and that now the mission ahead is to establish an economic base and a strong economy for the area. Only in that way will our future be secure.

Box on p 77 These Are the Projects

Saba (an acronym for Samaria-Benyamin-Amanah) was established in 1982 with the goal of developing the economy in Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. All the development companies in the area and the Emuna movement are partners in the firm. The firm also works with the local councils, which are not partners in the company. Economic groups from outside the region participate in various projects.

To date, these are the firm's areas of activity:

1. Ramot - Insurance Agency, Ltd. The agency provides assurance services of all kinds to groups and individuals within the area and outside. The agency has a double goal: to develop insurance services in the Judaea, Samaria, Gaza area and to act as a vehicle through which profits can be made for investment in development.
2. Tadir - Saba, Ltd. A cement company that operates today in Efrat and Matityahu. Tadir, which is renowned in the industry, asked to work with Saba, due to the latter's status as a local entity highly involved in area activities. According to Drezin, this partnership is a success and both sides are satisfied. The firm will open additional cement stations in the near future.
3. Saba Investments. A subsidiary established in partnership with Otzar ve Hisahon (Treasury and Savings), a firm whose owners are from a North American bank. The purpose of the firm is to centralize projects and raise capital for them. The company is involved in two large projects; one, in partnership with the nuclear center in Nahal Shores, is working on implanting nitrogen ions in metal. Saba Investments is negotiating with American firms for the required capital, estimated at \$5 million. (Saba Investments has a permanent representative in the United States.) The second project is the establishment of a scientific center in Ari'el. One of the reasons that Saba won that contract was the opinion of the government that Saba, apart from its professional capabilities, had a larger interest in completing the project because Saba is a local firm.
4. Or-Saba. A construction company. The partners are Otzar ve Hisahon, the contractor "Or Avodot" and Saba. The firm's goal is to initiate and invest in construction projects. The company is building the industrial area in Barkan and is investigating the possibility of putting up a 100-unit complex in Pisgot. They are even considering the possibility of establishing a settlement with thousands of housing units in Nisanit on the Gaza Strip.
5. Saba Engineering. An engineering firm established to manage the building of settlements, complexes and housing units throughout Judaea, Samaria and Gaza. The firm is under the sole ownership of Saba. Today, the firm is

administering the construction of the permanent dwelling area in the settlements of Anatot and Mili, and examining the possibility of building in Bet-Arye and Eli-Sinai. The firm also initiates projects such as the service structure in Ramat Modi'in, a sport center for Mif'al-Hapa'is in Bet-Arye and several other projects. In this context, they are also looking into possible partnerships with the local councils in Ari'el, Qiryat Arba' and Giv'at Ze'ev.

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ISRAEL

TRANS-SAMARIA RAILROAD PROPOSED

'Ofra NEQUDA in Hebrew 5 Apr 85 pp 26-27

[Text] A train with three new, shiny cars painted light green and bearing the initials TSE in black, for Trans-Samaria Express, moves quickly along the track to the east. The pleasant ride is filled with music, occasionally interrupted by news reports. Outside, a pounding rain is falling, but inside the cars, the heat is working and an atmosphere of peace and repose prevails. Some riders are dozing.

The announcer's recorded message declares that the train is approaching the settlement of Elqana. Approximately 50 passengers get off. A minute later, the doors close again and the train continues on its express route, almost gliding over the tracks. The time is 3:13. Only 13 minutes have elapsed since the doors closed in the last station, which was Tel Aviv.

Among those who disembarked in Elqana is Dr. Hilel Weis. He looks at the train now making its way to Ari'el and thinks how this train has improved the balance of his sleeping schedule, about how much less fuel it requires now as compared with when he first started using it, and about how relaxed he feels now, not having to wait long hours in traffic jams en route home from Bar Ilan University where he teaches.

"Anyone who lives today in western Samaria must be thinking: I wish I had a magic carpet. Who will give me wings like a dove and fly me to Tel Aviv," says Dr. Weis, chairman of the Hebrew Literature department at Bar Ilan University, who dreams about an express train that will traverse Judaea and Samaria.

"We must integrate the Gush Dan region, where most of Israel's population resides, with Judaea and Samaria using modes of transportation befitting the 21st century," He knows that the economic situation almost denies the possibility of thinking about such an expensive plan. But, he hopes that some private company will agree to invest money in this unique project.

Weis feels very close to Menahem Mendel, Shalom Aleichem's hero. Menahem Mendel used to weave plans with one common element -- they were never implemented. Dr. Weis feels that his ideas may belong to the world of Mendel. "Every Jew has ideas," he says. "Take for example Meridor." In the world of

Menahem Mendel, every Jew has to double himself. According to Dr. Weis' interpretation, in reality this means that he must work on the coast and live in Samaria. "I don't think it's right to develop industry in Judaea and Samaria. There should be absolute dependence on Gush Dan. People should live here and work there."

Western Samaria is called Gush Dan's bedroom. That is true and it should stay that way.

Today, people travel from Ari'el to the Israeli Aircraft Industry in one and a half hours. Some are broken by the commute. It is difficult to bear this constant physical strain and the concomitant monetary expense. "I am sure," he adds, "that if there was better transportation, the number of people living here would multiply many fold. It is the only solution to the Judaea and Samaria issue -- de facto annexation."

The land of Israel in his eyes is like an amusement park. An express train would cause the country to "shrink" and would give the people a more realistic feeling about the size of the country, which is so small. Then they would once again be reluctant to give anything up.

There is a master plan for an Israeli railroad scheduled for the year 2000. According to the plan, Tel Aviv will be surrounded by suburban trains to relieve the never-ending traffic jams that plague Gush Dan. "There are 'remote' settlements, like Rihan, Dotan or Ma'on, which will suddenly find themselves on the map if the master plan is implemented. This is also a good solution for the Jerusalem and Haifa areas," says Hilel Weis.

The conscientious doctor has sent innumerable memoranda to government offices, to the firm developing Emanu'el and to the Judaea, Samaria, Gaza council. He also met with various parties responsible for the plan. This man does not only write memos to government offices or development companies. He has also written many books, most of them on the subject of Agnon's works. His world has many faces and not a few contradictions as well. He does not hide his hesitations, nor does he hide the fact that he has changed his opinion many times on bitterly divisive issues within Israeli society. He is original, surprising, very sharp, sometimes even caustic. He is chairman of a literature department as well as a licensed attorney who lives in Elqana and he was among the founders of the western Samaria nucleus that established Gush Emunim in the period preceding the Yom Kipur War. Prior to that he was among the founders of "Oz ve Shalom" [power and peace] and sees himself as a student of Professor Uri'el Simon, known for his dovish stand. "I loved the religious left with my heart and soul," he says, "but something happened along the way. I saw the Alon Plan as a possibility, but at some point in time, I changed my mind."

The railroad project, which he has been trying to develop for several years, is not just a project with political and economic significance. In his eyes, the train is a symbol. He definitely thinks that the subject has a spiritual

side. "The train is a project with a vision. Recently, I have been feeling like everything is falling apart. People don't believe in the IDF anymore, and people don't have faith in what they're doing. But the train could be a project like making the desert flower."

Hilel Weis shares the feeling of many other Israelis today that something is being lost on the current path. He speaks of both dreams and failures. Everyone has his failures, too. "The people of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza were supposed to be an underground of sorts, a band united to improve personal relations. From the beginning, it was intolerable that people would build mansions, although I have, which is admittedly highly hypocritical. We don't have leaders and we don't have any new social ideas. We had the chance to build Israel anew, not out of separatism but out of a different set of values. Our society is materialistic and achievement oriented. Except for "Ofra, everyone is grabbing what he can."

Now, the Weis family is moving into their private villa in Elqana. Their happiness, however, is incomplete. The process of settling in came too soon and the intensity of their excitement is flickering. "What should a Jew do with his free time? What should he do with his villa?" shouts Weis.

His arrows are not only shot at the settlements. Even his friends in the left do not get off without being attacked. He spills boiling water on their democratic-liberal dreams. "Democracy, democracy...history has shown it to be poisonous and moronic. In my opinion, the liberal world is darker than words can describe."

The fate of Dr Weis's train will probably not be decided based on economic criteria alone, but, in the main, based on diplomatic-political considerations. A great deal depends on the desire of the unity government. At the moment, no one knows in which direction that is headed. But things are not entirely dependent on the government. The fact is that during 7 years of the Likud administration, nothing moved on the issue.

Dr Weis's train is not yet under way. Like so many issues, too many issues, it is still in its embryonic stages. The fact that for years no one took this original idea seriously proves to what degree this country -- which began its life from a cross-section of revolutionary ideas and new concepts, most of which exceeded all expectations -- has become set in its ways.

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22 August 1985

KUWAIT

## CENTRAL BANK GOVERNOR DISCUSSES USE OF FOREIGN FINANCIAL ASSETS

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 31 May 85 p 63

[Article: "Governor of Central Bank of Kuwait Offers Alternatives To Avoid Oil Risks in Gulf; Life Buoy Is In Saving and Investment"]

[Text] Kuwait--In recent years, there have been numerous general and specialized economic studies in the Gulf and Arab Peninsula area in response to the prevalent conditions. Perhaps one of the most important studies to draw attention recently is the study prepared by 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Tammar, the governor of the Central Bank of Kuwait and the ex-general director of the Kuwaiti Trade, Contracting and Foreign Investment Co. Al-Tammar presented his study as a lecture at the premises of the Bahrain Chamber of Commerce and Industry at the beginning of last April as part of the educational season of the chamber's Economic and Financial Studies Committee. In his lecture, al-Tammar dealt with the "role of foreign financial assets in enhancing the local development of the Arab Peninsula Oil-Producing Countries."

Opening his lecture, al-Tammar noted that the oil revenues of the Gulf oil-exporting countries have risen immensely as a result of the increases in crude oil prices in the past decade and of the high production rates. As a result of the local bottlenecks and of the limited economic diversification opportunities, the 1974-81 period witnessed a vast increase in the current account surpluses in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar.

'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Tammar focused on the revenues, the current account surpluses and the demand on reserves in the Gulf states. He said that before 1970, only Saudi Arabia and Kuwait possessed large oil revenues and that Kuwait alone has a tangible surplus in its trade balance. After the Tehran agreement of February 1971 which raised the oil prices, bigger surpluses materialized in the Gulf and then grew even bigger as of 1973-74.

Al-Tammar said that the current accounts of these countries followed a somewhat different course in the 1973-80 period, passing through three stages; The first, the end of 1973 and the beginning of 1974, was characterized by a large increase in the trade surplus. The second, from 1974 to 1978, was characterized by fluctuation in oil prices and by increased government

spending in these states, with the current account surplus thus diminishing. In 1979-80, the world oil market saw the second increase in prices, with the current account surplus of the Gulf states thus increasing again.

With the onset of the 1980's a number of dramatic developments occurred. The world's oil consumption dropped by 5 percent in 1980-81. In the industrial countries alone, this consumption dropped by 7.5 percent. Consequently, the demand for OPEC oil dropped by 28 percent in the period from 1979 until 1981. OPEC's share of the world market also decreased.

Al-Tammar added that the demand by the Gulf states on reserves relies on a number of considerations, including the consideration of financing imports if exports decrease temporarily, else it would be necessary to introduce modifications in policy, such as reducing spending or encouraging exports. The demand on reserves to finance imports indicates several changes, including the volume of imports and diversification of exports, changing the prices and quantities of individual export commodities, the number of export markets and the quality of each of them and the possibility of interruption of exports and of the loss of the latent opportunity given by the possession of reserves.

The governor of the Central Bank of Kuwait also pointed out that maintaining assets in the form of a liquid reserve instead of in the form of real investments, such as securities, is considered to be in conflict with the adverse developments likely to occur in the long run and is not the right policy.

The lecturer touched on the issue of the consequences emanating from the general policy of relying on oil to generate revenues and to manage the current surplus. He said that the national production in the Gulf states depends on depleting the oil. This is the process of transforming wealth or capital into a current revenue, which is in contrast with the national production of the other countries which strengthen a bolsterable base. In this case, the state has several options, including:

- producing the oil now and exchanging it for the sake of current consumption;
- producing the oil now and exchanging it for foreign assets that bear a yield which can be used to obtain real capital and consumer goods;
- having the Gulf states acquire foreign assets, if there are tempting investments abroad;
- keeping the oil, i.e., leaving it buried under ground and exchanging it in the future for real capital and for consumer goods.

Al-Tammar concluded that success depends on building a lively economic base to replace the oil. This is something which is sensitively connected with the actual yield rates from investments, be they local or foreign. It is also necessary to devote attention to the national saving rate in the Gulf states. This rate is determined by three factors: The expected lifespan of the proven



oil reserves, the actual yield rate from investments and the desired saving rate after the depletion of oil. Therefore, the policies of the Gulf states must be crystallized in the following manner:

- determine the annual saving volume;
- divide this volume between local and foreign investments, deciding the proportions of this division on the basis of the actual yield rates in the long run;
- entrust management of foreign investments to a single central organization in order to insure a comprehensive strategy and equivalent commercial bonds.

The governor of the Central Bank of Kuwait also touched on the uses of the current account surplus. He said that the surplus of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar amounted as of the 1970's to 80 percent of OPEC's total surplus, and that the net borrowing by the oil exporters rose sharply in 1978 and then dropped in the following 2 years from \$16 billion to \$7 billion in 1980. Since 1981, the oil exporting countries have been borrowing at higher rates because of the drop in oil revenues. The surpluses of the Gulf's oil states have been concentrated in stocks, most of them in the industrial countries, including the European money markets. These assets have experienced increasing diversification in recent years, with a large part of the assets going into investments with a longer term and less liquidity.

Al-Tammar also spoke about managing the current account surplus in each of the four Gulf states. He said that the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia entrusts SAMA (Saudi Arabia Monetary Agency) to manage the kingdom's foreign assets. Saudi Arabia makes its decisions on current and developmental spending and then gives the surplus to SAMA to manage. SAMA focuses on short-term financial assets with the aim of insuring the elements of liquidity and security. It thus focuses on bank deposits in the biggest banks and on securities in the industrial countries. Nearly 30 to 60 percent of SAMA's deposits are in bonds, mostly government bonds. The rest is invested in the capital of international and local establishments and in loans with joint bonds.

The study then touched on Kuwait, pointing out that the Kuwaiti Ministry of Finance manages foreign assets and that this ministry has a bureau bolstered with experts for this purpose. The ministry relies on public and private establishments to invest its assets abroad, such as the Kuwaiti Trade, Contracting and Investment Co in which the ministry owns an 85 percent interest, the Kuwaiti Investment Co in which it owns 50 percent interest, the Burqan Bank in which it owns 51 percent interest and the Kuwait and Middle East Bank in which it owns 49 percent interest. There is also the Kuwaiti Investment Office in London. The Central Bank manages the liquid reserves. Kuwait's foreign assets are divided equally between ordinary shares, instruments of debt and immovable properties.

Some believe that two-thirds of Kuwait's long-term investments are in the United States. Despite the confidentiality enjoyed by these investments, they are revealed from time to time.

Kuwait differs from Saudi Arabia in that it allocates a part of its annual income for the National Reserve Fund for Future Generations. This fund invests its monies abroad. Meanwhile, Saudi Arabia allocates no resources for investment other than what is left after it determines its current and developmental needs.

Regarding the United Arab Emirates, the governor of the Central Bank of Kuwait said that the Abu Dhabi Investment Agency invests the major share of the UAE surplus. This agency owns a large number of shares in the Abu Dhabi Investment Co and the Abu Dhabi National Bank. The agency exercises its investment activity through a foreign financial establishment which manages commercial bonds in its interest. As for the UAE Central Bank, it manages a small part of the liquid reserves. However, this bank has powers to receive increasing sums from the government. The surplus remaining after government spending goes to the agency for investment. In managing its foreign investments, the agency relies on liquid assets in the form of stocks in a number of firms and utilities, in oil companies and banks and in forest product companies.

In Qatar, foreign investments are managed by the Qatar Investment Council. These investments are distributed in the form of investment bonds in the United States, Switzerland, West Germany, France, Britain, Canada and Japan.

In his study, al-Tammar believes that the foreign investment strategies of the Gulf states must be built on a national saving policy that relies on the proper economic factors and that, at the same time, reflects these factors on the basis of the high yields expected of them. This policy should not focus on commercial bonds but should tend toward diversification in the following spheres: Currency, geographic diversification, sectoral diversification, asset diversification, diversification of the bank deposits, investments with various durations, direct investments, investments in commercial bonds and direct lending.

Concluding his lecture, al-Tammar said that the Gulf states, individually and collectively, must set up a very weighty economic and financial research unit capable of offering recommendations to organize investment because the establishment of such an international institutional network inevitably requires time and effort. But it is necessary to develop a clear policy to set up such a unit because of its benefit in implementing a sound investment policy.

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KUWAIT

REPERCUSSIONS OF ASSASSINATION ATTEMPT ON AMIR DISCUSSED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 8 Jun 85 pp 11-13

[Article by Najih Khalil: "On Eve of Assassination Attempt on Amir of Kuwait by Radical Organization Supported by Iran: Eyes of Kuwaitis Are on Iranian Role; Reexamination Will Reach Some People with Citizenship; Event Ignites Large-Scale Debate on Issue of Demographic Balance; It Is Expected That There Will Be Reexamination Concerning Citizenship Holders Who Are Not of Arab Origin"]

[Text] It is no secret to anybody that the Islamic Jihad Organization which claimed responsibility for the attempt on the life of Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, the amir of Kuwait, on the morning of 25 May 1985 is an organization supported by Iran and that some its elements are trained in camps inside Iran. The attempt itself has put the Iranian role in the Arab Gulf generally, and in the Kuwait in particular, in the spotlight. AL-TADAMUN, which went to the scene of the incident a few minutes after it occurred, deals here with what happened and with what is expected after what has happened.

It is not yet known what Kuwait's next step will be in confronting the "war" declared against it by the Islamic Jihad Organization in an attempt to force it to release those detained in the case of the explosions witnessed by Kuwait more than a year ago.

Even though the latest incident behind which this organization stood and which was aimed at the life of Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, the amir of Kuwait, was carried out with excessive hysteria and even though it has become evident that the act was planned with precision, the tremor it caused in the Kuwaiti conscience has produced a yield from which anybody who has experienced the psychological dimensions of the incident senses that the Kuwaitis have felt for the first time that they are facing a direct challenge that amounts not only to an attempt to create shaken security in their arena but which goes beyond that to an attempt against the Kuwaiti entity in its entirety. Therefore, the objective projection says: The position of the Kuwaiti Government that has refused to submit to threats after the explosions incident and after the hijacking of the Kuwaiti airliner Kazimah will be more obstinate and intransigent in the wake of the attack on the amir's motorcade.

The Kuwaiti security agencies which arrived at the scene of the incident only a few minutes after it occurred were able to uncover the identify of the perpetrator who drove the mined vehicle and detonated it against the motorcade of Shaykh Jabir even though the explosion has blown up the perpetrator's body into fragments. These agencies identified the perpetrator as an escaped Iraqi convict with Pakistani citizenship and residing in Kuwait legally.

Through a careful examination of the remnants of the perpetrator's body and the license plate of the mined vehicle, these agencies were able to get hold of the first threads of the incident's perpetrators. The agencies' initial information enabled them to arrest several suspects and to subject them to intensive interrogation. Moreover, the precautionary measures implemented on the borders helped bring about the arrest of one of those colluding in the perpetration of the incident while he was trying to sneak out and escape the day after the incident occurred.

#### How Did Incident Occur?

At 0630 of Saturday, 25 May 1985, a small Japanese car, believed to be a Datsun, was seen repeatedly driving up and down al-Khalij Street in the area separating Dasman Palace (the amir's residence) and al-Sayf Palace (the amir's office) while waiting for Shaykh Jabir's motorcade which usually passed through the area at 0800. During the month of Ramadan, however, the amir changed the time and moved from his residence to his office at 0900.

At 0920 of the same morning, the amir's motorcade was seen driving through al-Khalij St in the direction of al-Sayf Palace. Meanwhile the perpetrator's car was parked at a side street waiting for the motorcade's arrival. As soon as the motorcade came within a convenient distance of the mined car, the driver drove out of the side street in the direction of the motorcade, giving the impression that his car was out of control. But the guard vehicle moving at the head of the amir's motorcade noticed the driver and rushed toward him to prevent him from reaching the amir's car. At that moment, the enormous explosion occurred, destroying the amir's guard vehicle and killing its occupants. Meanwhile, shrapnel hit Shaykh Jabir's car whose driver was alert and intelligent enough to apply his brakes and stop the car at a distance of few meters from the explosion site. This action was enough to save the amir's life by a miracle.

AL-TADAMUN arrived at the scene of the incident half an hour after it occurred. There, it was able to observe the dimensions of the destruction caused at the site of the explosion. It was also able to discover that the incident has been planned carefully and after intensive daily observation of the amir's motorcade, of the route it followed, of the number of guards and vehicles in the motorcade, of the distance separating one vehicle from the next in the motorcade and of the speed at which the motorcade moved.

The sight at the scene of the incident was ugly and horrible, evoking feelings that are hard to describe. At the spot where the mined vehicle exploded, a crater from which water gushed was blasted by the intensity of the explosion

and charred and blackened pieces of human flesh were spread over a large area, including two burnt human fingers and a thick scalp said to belong to the perpetrator. In addition to the pieces of human flesh, the debris of the exploded car and of parts of the amir's guard car were also scattered in the area.

Upon witnessing this horrible scene, the first impression occurring to the mind came in the form of the perplexing question: How did the amir escape this incident?

The Kuwaitis, who have been deeply shaken by the incident, have said that "only God's care has saved their amir because he is a generous, benelovent and upright man." But the question they have been asking since the incident is: What then? Was the target more than just the amir?

The truth is that the incident has ignited a large-scale debate in Kuwaiti salons and gathering places and has opened the door to numerous questions concerning how the explosives reached the country, how the mined vehicle was prepared and how its suicidal driver was chosen? What is more important than all this is that the incident has put the issue of Kuwait's demographic balance to an unprecedented debate.

#### Demographic Makeup in Balance

Kuwait is a country where more than 90 different nationalities, with all the political and sectarian affiliations, live. These nationalities also differ in customs, values and traditions. In the past ten years, this amazing mixture of human beings has caused the perpetration of crimes alien to Kuwaiti society, and even to Arab society in its entirety. It has become acknowledged in Kuwait, for example, that certain Indian groups specialize in distilling alcohol locally. The newspapers carry almost daily reports of the arrest of bands of these people producing a variety of local alcoholic drinks in their homes.

At previous times, Kuwaiti society complained repeatedly of the ugly crimes perpetrated by Koreans, Filipinos, Thais and even Pakistanis using alien methods to which Kuwait's society and its Arab population were unaccustomed. This is insofar as incoming crime is concerned. As for political and sectarian affiliations, they have become as numerous as the nationalities living on Kuwait's soil. In some of their aspects, these affiliations have become clear and present dangers to Kuwait's security and sovereignty.

One of the strange and interesting anecdotes that can be cited in this regard is that a Persian merchant living in Kuwait during the shah's days asked the Kuwaiti Government to permit him to cover with Persian rugs the road from Kuwait Airport to the residence at which the shah stayed during an official visit to Kuwait before his peacock throne collapsed!

## Iranian Governor

What is more surprising is that any speech delivered by one of Tehran's ayatollahs is distributed extensively in Kuwait on the following day. Many of Kuwait's inhabitants and resident recall that the Kuwaiti Government was compelled to withdraw the citizenship of a Kuwaiti of Iranian extraction and to deport him to Tehran a short time after Khomeyni's assumption of power when speculation rose at the time that Khomeyni had appointed the man "govenor" of Kuwait!

In the face of this reality from which Kuwait suffers and which has produced serious phenomena, the most serious being the attempt on the life of the country's amir by a radical organization supported by Iran, the call for reexamining the demographc balance has begun to receive acceptance among a broad sector of the Kuwaitis.

## Opinion of the Two Deputies

On its part, AL-TADAMUN has tried to explore the dimensions of this issue and has contacted by telephone deputies Dr Ya'qub Hayati (a Shi'ite) and Nasir al-Rawdan (an independent) and asked them the following question: What consequences could emanate from the attack on the amir's motorcade in light of the call for reexamination of Kuwait's demographic distribution?

The answers were as follows:

Deputy Dr Ya'qub Hayati: We consider the attack on the amir's motorcade a flagrant attack against Kuwait and all its sons and its past, present and future. In other words, it is an attack on the civilized and democratic approach represented by Kuwait. It is an attack that cannot be justified in any way or by any logic because, to put it simply, Kuwait has worked equally for its citizens and for other, has clung to a wise and rational policy in the relations between its internal institutions and in its relations with its neighbors, its Arab nation, the countries of the Islamic world and the other countries of the world. Kuwait has never lived just for itself under any circumstances. It has built hospitals and schools in various parts of the world and has clung to wisdom in its actions. In the light of what has happened, now that matters have settled down, we must deal with the situation with the approach of the patient one who has been angered, the faithful one who has been afflicted and the noble one who has been wounded so that we may not, in the onrush of events, squander anybody's right or falter insofar as the rights of the homeland, the citizens and the honorable emigre workers are concerned. It is my private opinion that this incident constitutes a historic turning point in whose light we must be extremely careful with Kuwait's real wealth, namely its national unity and the supremacy of the law. We must not allow this opportunity to be exploited by whoever wants to stab Kuwait in its very heart, to undermine the united domestic front existing between its sons and to break up the Kuwaitis' united spirit and word. At the same time we do not want Kuwait to continue to be forever a miling cow or a beast of burden.



Deputy Nasir al-Rawdan said: There is no doubt that the criminal act to which the motorcade of his highness was subjected was aimed at just the life of the country's amir but also at Kuwait as a homeland and as a people. Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah is only the symbol of this homeland, people and regime whose rule the Kuwaiti people have accepted. There is not doubt about Kuwait, with the freedom it enjoys through the freedom of the press and of opinion and through the presence of a National Assembly that legislates and acts as a watch dog, has become a lighted candle in our dark Arab reality. But instead of lighting another candle, the evil ones are trying to extinguish this lighted candle in the dark reality. It is indisputable that Kuwait must reconsider its laws governing security aspects and that it must be firm and hit any tamperer with an iron fist while remaining open to anybody seeking a livelihood and a secure life.

As for the direct answer to the question concerning Kuwait's demographic makeup, I believe that in its current situation, Kuwaiti society is unique in kind. This has been caused by the rapid leads in economic growth resulting in a renaissance in all spheres and leading to large-scale immigration of numerous and varied nationalities to Kuwait. This has resulted in a drop in the percentage of native Kuwaitis in their country in comparison with the other communities. Through a simple observation of the Kuwaiti population census from 1957 to 1985, we find that the percentage of Kuwaitis has been declining steadily in the face of the increase in the percentage of the other communities, not to mention that the makeup of the other communities has changed, with the percentage of Arabs decreasing to the degree that that of Asians has increased. If the population growth rates are allowed to go on unchecked, Kuwait's population by the year 2000 will be 4.75 million people, of whom Kuwaitis will represent 23 percent, i.e., one-half the current percentage. It is no secret that such a fearful decline would represent to its political and social security, considering that some communities whose traditions and customs differ from the genuine Arab traditions may demand that these traditions be acknowledged in Kuwaiti society, thus causing the loss of the special Kuwaiti character and Arab identity. Moreover, a variety of crimes will exist in the Kuwaiti arena with the presence of those who perpetrate them.

[Question] Is there, then, a tendency to permit the Arab communities to occupy the space now occupied by non-Arab communities?

[Al-Rawdan] The Arab, whatever the circumstances, shares our customs, values and history. Therefore, the presence of the Arab communities is a lot better than the presence of the other communities.

[Question] Are there approximate figures on the increase in the percentage of the Asian communities in Kuwait in the past few years?

[Al-Rawdan] In 1975, there were 46,000 Asians; this year, the figure has risen to 136,000. These are approximate figures, however.

[Question] From which of the communities do you suffer most?



[Al-Rawdan] We have suffered a lot from the Persian Iranian community. This is what we feel and experience directly. As for the other communities, such as the Indian, Pakistani, Filipino and Thai communities, they have introduced into our society kinds of crime that are alien to it.

[Question] Don't you have future fears of the growth in the Arab communities?

[Al-Rawdan] Regardless of what the percentage of the Arab community is, this community will not cause the loss of our society's Arab identity. But this does not mean that I should transform the Kuwaiti society into a purely Arab society. There has to be a social balance whereby I will not permit a certain community to grow at the expense of the principle of this balance. But to put it briefly, the Arab communities are much better than the other communities.

#### Firm Approach

Inasmuch as the attempt on the life of the amir of Kuwait has opened our eyes on the Iranian role in Kuwait and in the Arab Gulf generally, it has also aroused a wave of public opinion demanding a turn toward security and political firmness.

This approach or this tendency for firmness which has surfaced in the wake of the incident's receiving, it seems, an official response from the government. Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah, the Kuwaiti crown prince, who said from the scene of the incident that Kuwait would not capitulate to blackmail and terrorism, said 2 days later in a television address to the Kuwaiti people: "The government will work with the National Assembly as a single hand to legislate the laws necessary to protect the country's supreme interests."

He also said "Out of its sense of responsibility, the government is determined to turn over an inevitable new leaf, implementing the laws with full strictness and amending whatever laws need to be amended."

The political observers in Kuwait have interpreted the crown prince's words as a real start in the reexamination of numerous issues that have come to constitute obvious gaps in Kuwait's security wall. In this respect, these observers expect the Kuwaiti Government to begin reexamining the dossiers of the Citizenship and Passports Department in order to determine the entity and qualifications of those entitled to reside in the country, now that it has become evident that numerous imaginary firms import certain labor to the country without checking how these workers live in Kuwait. This has contributed to the increased presence of elements whose affiliations belong to radical religious organizations.

What is important is that the ban imposed by the Kuwaiti security agencies on the travel of some suspects from certain groups has given the impression that the government is determined to tighten its security grip, as it has given the impression that additional information has been gathered on the incident and its perpetrators. It is believed that the government will shortly declare to the public all the details and intricacies involved in the incident.

Within the context of the interaction which has accompanied the incident in the form of the Kuwaiti initial popular reactions, direct calls have surfaced demanding execution of the detainees and refusal to capitulate to blackmail and threats.

The address of Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah, the Kuwaiti crown prince, from the scene of the incident was a major indication that the Kuwaiti Government will not submit to threats or to blackmail. As for executing those detained in the explosives case in response to the popular reaction, this is something to which no firm answer can be given, considering the well-known eagerness of Kuwaiti diplomacy to exercise maximum self-control in the most difficult and hardest situations. But it is certain that the Kuwaiti Government will not capitulate officially to the threats of the Islamic Jihad Organization, even if this organization carries out a sabotage act in Kuwait every day.

This is what the Kuwaiti officials assert and what was demanded by massive crowds of Kuwaitis who gathered at a major speech rally at al-Qadisiyah Club 2 days after the incident and who shouted amidst tears of enthusiasm and emotion: "With life and with blood we will redeem you, Kuwait."

But after what has happened, can it be said that Kuwaiti diplomacy will shut the door in the fact of the mediation previously carried out by Algeria on the issue of the detainees, that Kuwait will be content to intensify its precautionary security measures to foil any new sabotage attempt and that it will reconsider the country's demographic balance?

It is most likely that the Kuwaiti calm, reserve and balance have deviated from their familiar course in the wake of the attempt on the life of Shaykh Jabir and that it will be difficult under these circumstances for any Kuwaiti official to accept any mediation efforts of any kind. The Kuwaiti political mind will need a long time to forget the enormity of what has happened and to restore its ability to balance matters in freedom from the incident's psychological impact. It was very difficult for all the Kuwaitis to see their amir on the television screen 5 hours after the incident, with his face bearing the marks of the abrasions caused by the explosion.

Despite the evident composure which the amir displayed while addressing his people in the wake of the incident, this did not prevent Kuwaiti families from being moved to tears by the incident.

From now and until the Kuwaiti Government and people break away from the circle of the incident's psychological impact, the question that continues to be raised is: What is Kuwait's next step?

This is what the few coming days or weeks will clarify.

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LEBANON

SOUTHERN DEPUTY COMPLAINS OF GOVERNMENT APPROACH TO STRIFE

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 29 Jun 85 pp 15, 16

[Interview with Edmond Rizq, Deputy from Jazzin, by Jamil Ni'mah: "Jazzin Is the Last Grain in the Sheaf of Coexistence, and the Government Has Fallen Short and Is Responsible"]

[Text] The situation in Jazzin remains the center of gravity of people's concerns and the focal point of political and diplomatic activities taking place at the highest levels to create a suitable way out of the predicament which conditions have come to there and work to apply international pressure to guarantee the withdrawal of the Israeli army and the southern army of Lebanon led by the retired Maj Gen Antoine Lahad from Jazzin with a minimum of political and security complications.

Since the situation in Jazzin and the area around it is subject to dramatic developments and dangers very close at hand which could create a new battle-front and inflame doctrinal struggles which will have the effect of reflecting a new wave of migration and thereby create lines of contact inflaming a war between the belligerent forces in the desire to empty the areas of their inhabitants and serve the scheme of a population partition in the area, AL-TADAMUN, proceeding from this serious state of affairs which currently prevails in Jazzin and the villages surrounding it, met with Deputy Edmond Rizq, who is quartered in Jazzin, his birthplace, after he had previously decided to stay in his town until the time came to settle accounts.

The first question was:

[Question] From your recent conversations, we have deduced that you have lost hope in relying on the government and the Lebanese army to solve the crisis of the Jazzin area. To what extent is this correct?

[Answer] I do not want to seem like someone who has actually lost hope in this government although I have become very doubtful of its current ability. I also do not want to remove the page on the Lebanese army from the ledger of solutions, in spite of the bitterness I feel regarding the fragmentation and splintering the state of the army has come to. The fact is that we are now in a state of suspension of institutions at various levels and in various areas.

The government does not exist, in practice, and is only an illusory name. Perhaps that is the basis of the wasted time we are going through. Consequently, any attempt at salvation must start by having the government proceed to represent the will for "life in common" among the Lebanese, rather than reflecting fragmentation in the land and partition among the people.

Edmond Rizq went on to say:

"Of course, Jazzin, like other parts of the fragmented nation, is suffering from an absence of government, with all its agencies, departments and institutions, although we have insistently demanded, since before the first stage of the Israeli withdrawal, that a serious settlement of accounts be dealt with through the preparation of a qualified Lebanese army force to fill the vacuum resulting from the withdrawal and have presented a practical recommendation regarding the formation of the necessary army force. We have recommended this matter and propounded it with the president, the premier, the commander of the army, the chief of staff and the secretary general of the higher defense council, not to speak of the minister of defense himself, and have said that no serious initiative at execution has issued forth from any of these sources, which I believe are unable to offer any guarantee to any citizen or resident in any area at all, whether that is in the capital, Beirut, its outskirts or anywhere else."

The Jazzin deputy went on to say,

"Therefore the responsibility for everything that has happened since the time of the Israeli withdrawal lies with the Lebanese government, which has been incapable even of holding a Council of Ministers session. In my opinion, if we had been given an opportunity to hold this cabinet to account at a general discussion session in the Chamber of Deputies, we would have recorded a frank position before history regarding everything that has gone on, and we would have considered this cabinet specifically the direct cause of what the government is coming up against."

[Question] However, in other statements, you have proceeded to urge the government to take the initiative to solve the Jazzin issue. Doesn't this involve an obvious contradiction of what you said before?

[Answer] In spite of all that, as long as this cabinet still exists, from the premise of our capacity as authorities of legitimacy, we will continue to urge it to shake off its bad situation in an attempt to make up for its sins and save the remainder of the nation, which has gone insane. In my capacity as a deputy of an area which is steadfastly adhering to its identity and clinging to its genuine nature, I will not say that I am totally in despair over this government, lest that be an additional pretext which it will resort to to excuse itself from the last feeling of responsibility or performance of duty. I do not think that there is any contradiction between my saying this and my basic position regarding the cabinet.

[Question] The dispossession and population partitioning that has taken place in the south has extended to almost all the areas, with the exception of the municipality of Jazzin. Will the neutralization of this municipality succeed, in your opinion?

[Answer] We are concentrating on protecting Jazzin, the town and the area, on grounds that it is the last remaining example of the formula of the life in common in Lebanon. This has made us feel to the degree of satisfaction that the influential leaders have been aware of its substance and have perceived its dimensions. Jazzin does not represent a limited geographic area and a specific, defined population; rather, it has become a sort of symbol, since anyone who wants to revive the Lebanese nation stands among the people defending Jazzin and working to have it avoid the fate of other areas. In addition, the people who have the goal of delivering the coup de grace to Lebanon will concentrate their attack on Jazzin viciously, in order to eliminate the final hope for returning to the formula of life in common. While we have avoided using the word "neutrality" and "neutralization," we are certain that our thinking is an integral part of the territory of the south and the soil of the nation. We have continued to urge everyone who has good intentions and good will and people who have effective powers to cooperate with us in sparing our region further experiences. Here it is necessary to explain that 16 of the coastal villages in Jazzin District have been subjected to acts of dispossession, robbery, arson, explosion and pillage, same as dozens of villages in the District of Sidon and the region of the south. The practices of which the coastal area was a theater exceeded all the examples of viciousness of which the Lebanese territory has been a stage. Tens of thousands of devout, innocent citizens have been treated by their brothers, their neighbors and their partners in the manner of steadfast enemies. What would you consider about the real enemy of these tortured people? If this has been the action of friends, what is the action of enemies likely to be?

Edmond Rizq went on to say:

"Perhaps the most calamitous practices and those most painful to the spirit which we have observed are those of pillage, which have extended to villages and residential communities, along with the churches, monasteries, and schools in them. It is as if there was a design to eliminate common history and abrogate the partnership in the course of partitioning the population and partitioning the property, in order to establish partition as a fait accompli. Indeed, it seems that it would have been more suitable for those who are raising the slogans of "national unity" and bearing the banner of opposition to partition, then, to rise up to stop these practices. Therefore, the preservation of property and the protection of the population is the sole criterion of the credibility of any unification plan or real national approach. Finally, I would like to stress that we are concerned for every grain of soil and every person in our region, as in any section of the beloved Lebanon.

[Question] You have repeatedly laid emphasis on the importance of the Syrian role in solving the crisis of Jazzin. Do you believe that Damascus is able by itself to solve this crisis? Then, are Israel and other parties detached from this problem?

[Answer] I believe that Syria is able to play an active role in the Lebanese situation as a whole, because Damascus has become a point of reference for the various Lebanese groups. We know that the major weak spot in the

Lebanese situation is the partition of the Lebanese within themselves and the fighting and fragmentation arising from that, as a result of which they have all succumbed to a vortex of violence over a period of 11 years, to the destruction of the economic and social structure and to the collapse of the government's assets. What cannot be doubted is that influential parties besides Syria are exerting pressure on the Lebanese stage, because our territory has become open to depredations from various sides. It has become a stage for regional and international struggles and an abyss of liquidations. However, due to the distinctive relationship between itself and Lebanon, Syria has a splendid role which has not been given to others, which is to help realize "reconciliation" as long as the people who differ among themselves are in agreement with it and depend on it, and have agreed unanimously to hand the reins of affairs over to it. Perhaps this development will make us fair and just in requesting practical help from Syria in resolving the crisis.

[Question] Where does Jazzin stand in the Syrian solution, or the Syrian initiative, and in what way?

[Answer] I do not want to limit the request to the subject of Jazzin, because that is part of the whole and because the desired initiative cannot be confined to the solution of the issue of one region to the exclusion of another. However, help in rescuing Jazzin must be an entree to the rescue of Lebanon and an expression of determination to maintain what is symbolized by Jazzin, which still shelters under its two wings all its people, belonging to all the Lebanese factions, without discrimination or distinction, and opens its arms, and both of whose hands contain its people in the adjacent areas, whether they are in Sidon, the south or the Shuf and the al-Biq'a'.

[Question] Has any Lebanese or Syrian official made any contact with you, as influential party figures, in the recent period, to discuss specific security arrangements?

[Answer] Contacts between us and the parties concerned and involved are continuing. After our meeting in Damascus with the vice president, 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam, and our consultation with the president, premier and army command, we are perseverently carrying out every possible effort to arrive at any security arrangements which will have the effect of guaranteeing the safety of our region and its people. In this regard, we demand that the cabinet bear the responsibility of providing the suitable conditions for the peace of the region and not subject it to any future dangers, while waiting for appropriate circumstances in the regional and international areas.

[Question] How would you spell out the specifications of the forces of the Lebanese army, which you are asking to assume charge of security in Jazzin immediately upon the withdrawal of Lahad's forces?

[Answer] In general conditions, although we have not claimed specialization in military affairs, we consider it obvious, in the event a decision is adopted to send the Lebanese army to Jazzin, that it will at the same time have a specific mission and will be able to carry it out. Therefore, any army which reaches us must prove its fitness and credibility on its way here



in order to obtain our confidence. We see no harm or damage in saying that the qualified army ought to come by way of the coast and provide that with security for itself and for the people there, as well as implanting security in the areas of tension and returning the dispossessed, provided that it be an incorporated force, not one that has been factionalized, made into a weapon or plays party politics, and that in its composition, in terms of officers and troops, it be made up of the people of the region.

[Question] What are the requisite guarantees for any solution for the region and Jazzin? Who are the people who can give such guarantees, especially since you asked for international guarantees in your recent declarations?

[Answer] We repeat, openly, that we sincerely manifest confidence in President Hafiz al-Asad personally and the people assisting him. Consequently, we believe that we cannot accept a guarantee that is less than theirs. That is what I told 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam during our latest meeting in Damascus, in the presence of my comrades the influential people of Jazzin: "We have come here to receive the guarantee from you directly, politically and in terms of security."

In our opinion, this guarantee must include the control of the groups on the southern stage, with the practices they have engaged in against villages, institutions, homes and property and against innocent people and locals, so that no danger will issue forth from them against our region. In this regard, I am concerned to express satisfaction with the position of the two friends and ministers Walid Jumblatt and Nabih Birri, and I would like to be able to express the same satisfaction with respect to the positions and conduct of our brothers in Sidon, from whom we are awaiting a positive initiative which will demonstrate the will to restore relations between Sidon and Jazzin, which have been linked by bonds of friendship, affection, familiarity and cooperation for generations and centuries, to their natural state.

Edmond Rizq went on to say:

"The security guarantee is as stated in the reply to your question above, that is, in the type of army force assigned, its composition, the issue of the task which it will be provided, its commitment to protect people and property without distinction or categorization and without exposing any of the people of the area to any vengeance, usurpation or mistreatment, and rapid work to bring back the dispossessed and preserve people's dignity. Although we today are devoting ourselves to the issue of Jazzin, in view of what it represents with respect to Lebanon the nation, the country and the society, our aspiration does not stop at the boundary of protecting our region, but rather extends to all parts of the nation, whose triumph over the ordeal we believe to be inevitable."



22 August 1985

## LEBANON

## SOCIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF WAR REVIEWED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 29 Jun 85 pp 45-51

[Article by Ilham Qasis: "The War and its Effect on the Crime Wave in Lebanon: They Steal out of Hunger and Kill To Satisfy the Instinct of Terror"]

[Text] News has circulated recently about the breakins, thefts, acts of aggression, murder and similar vile acts which have been an inevitable result of the leftovers of the war, which has left a bad effect in the spirits of the Lebanese and indeed made its stamp on individuals and groups at various intellectual and class levels.

The process of dispossession has itself deposited people who have been destroyed, having once been owners of property and real estate. The current economic situation, which has become deteriorated, from the standpoint of the large unemployment rate and flagrant inflation, has led people, in particular the needy and those in want, to consider perpetrating crimes and committing sins out of fear that they will be wracked with hunger. At this point we can say that people will have mercy on no one if their children are hungry, and the latter will not understand that the entire situation is the height of stupidity.

Numerous other factors have all converged to the point where we have reached this difficult stage, but they all come together in the permanently flaring flames of war, except for the international wave of terrorism which has come to us from the West, and the real reasons are secret to no one; rather, they are well known and declared.

AL-TADAMUN posed questions to some officials and specialists in order to clarify the picture in a search for remedies. We met with Bishop George Khidr, a person responsible for religion and the church, the head of the Lawyers' Union 'Isam Karam, a person responsible for the law, the lawyer Musa Barnas, a person responsible for the study of society, and Dr Elie Qastun, a person responsible for education.

With Bishop George Khidr

Bishop George Khidr, the Greek Orthodox faction's metropolitan of Mount Lebanon, said,

"Let us take the most recent crimes that have emerged, the crimes of burglary and murder. During the war, violent crimes of burglary emerged, but lately people have talked of crimes of murder with the intent of committing burglary or crimes of intimidation with the intent of committing burglary. This can be ascribed to the deteriorated, degenerate condition of the economy which we have observed recently because of the drop in the value of the Lebanese pound. That can be remedied only by remedying the whole economic situation. However, what I would like to state, is that without a dispute, from the philosophical and moral point of view, the word theft is not to be used if the economic level drops below the threshold of hunger. That is, moral responsibility is not laid on a person who steals to feed his family, because it is not that person, specifically, but the one who is responsible for the drop in the price of the Lebanese pound, who is the thief. The disruption of the balance between income and expenditures to such a blatant extent justifies the thief who steals on behalf of some requirement, since no responsibility or crime lies upon him. Consequently, we must anticipate a mounting frequency of crimes and a connection between burglary and murder, and wonder why moral responsibility is considered absent in such a case. At this point we might go back to the old religious teaching which says that property is God's (that is, belongs to God's worshippers), and these people apportion it justly, but not in a way in which people will be subject to hunger, for example, or want. If the balance of justice is upset, life itself is denied and here the statement of the New Testament applies:

"Isn't life better than food?" In our current situation, isn't life better than respect for the economic situation which to a large extent is in the hands of the people who are responsible for the government -- the economists and their like?

We asked Bishop Khidr:

"Is this wave of wantonness an extension of the worldwide wave?"

[He said] "Not as far as the subject of terror goes. The collective moral conduct is only an extension. There is no doubt that a contagion has come in through the media, books and violent movies, even television. Studies have proved recently that these things establish a violent mentality, but it has also been said, and I do not have evidence for this statement, that a connection has arisen between terrorist bodies in the world and that some terrorists stayed over in Lebanon when they were young. However, it seems to me that some of the terrorism which the country experienced before this war was similar to such international terrorism as that which has occurred in Germany, for example, and some of our young people have had the social upbringing with which the German terrorists were raised, and that prompts us to believe that similar circumstances in similar environments have given rise to similar circumstances."

[Question] What to you are the direct and indirect causes of these terrorist acts?

[Answer] The bond is the outcome of two aspects. One bond comes from conviction, especially the conviction of belief, and there is a social bond which

comes from the family and the environment. From the standpoint of the environment, for example, young people in villages preserve much of their morality until they come to Beirut and live there as students or workers; no one sees them, and they disappear if they have no firm spiritual ties, no ties of faith. I consider that religious education in Lebanon is very bad in all its areas and that religion here does not consist of a bond with God and responsibility to God as much as of factional habits and religious folklore. In this war, religious conscience has greatly weakened among individuals and the tribal feeling connected to fear has become strong. The other person is not the person with whom we must deal on the basis of reasons from God and for reasons of the intrinsic value of the person. Rather, in our view, he has turned into the other tribal faction which must be eliminated before it eliminates us.

If the degree of fear in man rises it can eliminate factional and tribal religious feeling which arose once upon a time through the crystallization of the relationship between God and the self. Second of all, I am a Christian, and I am condemning the conduct of the Christian.

In the churches, the tribal conduct before the war consisted of the tribal choice of the bishop's village priest, tribal conduct of the churches' agents, a single unified church was not present in the town or village in terms of conscience, and if one made its appearance in legal form, it would have been more appropriate for us to be tribal if we were dealing with the Moslems. The basic philosophy is that the model tribal philosophy, if one tribe was exterminating the other, was, realistically, for it to establish a balance with that tribe. In the best case, the balance took the form of an alliance of tribes or an alliance of neighborliness among tribes. However, it would not assume the form of unity among them. This was the philosophy of death which dominated Lebanon.

[Question] Who is responsible, in your opinion?

[Answer] The Lebanese people, oppressed during 43 [sic] years of Ottoman rule and the French mandate, thought that everything evil within themselves came from the government and tried to establish an independent government which would save them from the evil of themselves. To this day they have not understood that the worst government does not make people bad, even if it corrupts them to some extent. The Lebanese people are bad and do not want to admit that. They have been arrogant and "have strayed;" they are a people with numerous religions, with their formalities, traditions, statements, pomp, interests and headlong pursuit of money and positions of leadership.

It is possible to characterize a people in this bad notion as a religious people, but they are not a devout people. That is, they are not tied to God as master of their hearts and words. The home, the school and the government are all manifestations of these Lebanese people who are enmired in sin. The view will remain a superficial one if we consider that reform starts with the school, the home or the government. We are waiting for a new appeal similar to prophecy, guardianship in the language of the Moslems, or sanctity in the language of the Christians, in order for the nation to change, and the institutions will change, and so on and so forth, along the road of this

profound spiritual change. In reality, we all, in one form or another, deeply or superficially, with weapons or without them, have created this war. Calm scholarly historical study, after decades, will bring these things out. We are not intending to hold ourselves on trial. One of the questions which has been raised is, What disruption have I caused or what has my faction done, unjustly or out of indifference, that others beside me should act as they have acted? The sole legitimate question is, how can I be within myself, now, at what intensity of love should I be, in order to change, through radiation, what can be changed in the spirits of other people? If this does not happen, everything entails temporary profane arrangements, alliances of interests, and every alliance that arises among tribes on that basis is broken.

[Question] What is the church's responsibility in the face of these things?

[Answer] I am speaking from the point of departure of my church only, because I have the right, since I know my people, and my duty, to discipline them; others besides me may know their own people and discipline them. In any case, the turning point we have reached makes every Lebanese faction proceed, from within itself, to the nation as a whole. We have become convinced that we collectively will not have responsibility for the outburst of the flames of this war; in spite of every attempt to obliterate our intrinsic nature, we have continued to preserve the vision of our intrinsic nature, and this vision helps us function as the faction which is the bridge between the Moslems and the other Christians. We have not been unaware that influential Christians in actual circumstances do not get us to participate in political decisions, and they will not do so if they manage to hold a monopoly over it. Likewise, we have tasted the milk of the messiah in the mountains and outside them, and have not had one iota of responsibility in any of that. It remains that what happened in 1860 and 1886 distinctively, but not exclusively, gave us martyrs in the pure church sense of the word, martyrs who did not fight, and we have proved this in spite of the people who have sowed doubt, who have not ceased saying that we belong to the messiah and that we are sharing the sufferings of his cross with him and are sharing the sufferings of their crosses with all Christians. The lord has bestowed a special nature on us to be witnesses to the New Testament of gentlehearted nature upon which were the pains of today and tomorrow. We are not unaware of the possibility that the Christian presence in this East will be attenuated, whether through emigration or through death, or through the weakening of the political presence. However, we hope that God will inspire calm in this East and will implant the deeply-understanding foundations of common life among its people, foundations in which there is no repression or ignominy.

What I would like to tell the Christians here is that martyrdom is a basic aspect of their survival, and is, in any case, the best aspect of their survival. What I would also like to say is that freedom sooner or later will be repressed in one form or another in every country if people choose to migrate and that it is the will of God that we hold firm to this land, as if we were a yeast leavening the whole dough. If God has a will, he created us here, and this means that he also had the will that we should remain here, to the extent that we are allowed freedoms.

[Question] Will the Orthodox church participate in solving this problem?

[Answer] It has become apparent to the Orthodox church that its participation in the revival of Lebanese life is first of all in the context of dialogue that it should be the body bringing the Moslems and the other Christians together. We have rejected the existence of a kind of notion for the Christians all together which they can cast upon the Moslems, because that will lead to a dead end. The discussion will be the same, with all the people in the Lebanese household, directly.

Second, in accordance with existence, we have accepted this mentality, which says that we are a faction within the Lebanese household and that we have everything we are entitled to and all the obligations to which we are obligated. However, we will not allow our vision of the unified nation, which holds that it is necessary to transcend the factional structure at the appropriate time, to be eliminated.

[Question] Could we say that what is happening to us is God's curse on the Lebanese?

[Answer] None of us can curse his own people. These people are wretched, and they have suffered much pain. Our hope is that God has forgiven them their sins. There is no curse on children, and mercy has descended greatly on those who have died, except insofar as this mercy touches on the godfearing every day. However, I must face my own sins. If every Lebanese personally derives benefit from this terrible anger and understands that he is called upon to become a truthful, affectionate, just, working person who rises above his appetites every day, this nation will have started on its way toward God's horizons.

[Question] What is the solution, in your view?

[Answer] Here I will speak for the first time in this interview in the language of politics. The Israelis must leave this land for good, the south must subsequently be built up and its unity become manifest, and the Lebanese must believe, thanks to the resistance within it, that death, in many cases, is more honorable than life in ignominy. Secondly, we must understand that no one can do without anyone else and that every faction that exists, with its dignity and its base in its own nature, must have a day in which to prosper. What ultimately has become important to us has been our belief in secularism and its application. This is the country of collective factional heritages and this will be the best thing for us, proceeding over the long term over [sic] from every alien imported idea. Thirdly, we therefore are included in the dialectic of factionalism and non-factionalism, in the tactics of factionalism and strategy of unification, and the administrative and military organizations are conducting talks on this basis. I wholly believe that education in the schools and the universities can be unified in the whole nation and that Islam and Christianity, though it is said that they are connected to two civilizations, must constitute a basis for the learning given to all the Lebanese. One should bear in mind that people are oriented today toward the laboratory sciences, and the people who have oriented themselves toward them have proceeded to the literary, philosophical and



historic sciences; we have understood that they are steeped in the international heritage and the eastern heritage, to the point where they have not faltered in Christianity and Islam (the two important elements in their civilization). Finally, there should be the guarantee that all Lebanese will return to their own areas according to a program and schedule that are set out, out of fear of the factional segregation which will mean neglect of the Lebanese formula as we have wished it since religion burst forth and as Lebanon became united at the beginning of independence. I am confident that the Lebanese, in spite of their bad qualities, are forgiving, that they wish for a magnanimous existence and that God is bringing them back from death. People here and there have died and have tasted repression and intellectual repression. They have renounced everything or lost everything, and will return, with God's permission, to the land they fled from if they are told that the promise of life is imminent.

### The Law Has Its Say

The wisdom of the law is concerned with responsibility for the balance of justice in this area and consequently the role of the men of the law and justice concerns this issue in particular. The head of the Lawyers' Union, On the story of the subject of the file, 'Isam Karam said:

"The people of the law proceed from the principle that there is no punishment unless there is a provision for it. The penal code establishes a provision regarding everything in this respect, but the problem lies in the possibility for applying it. We know today what difficulty faces the process of execution and what totally suspends the application of the law, which cannot be without authorities. I personally had recommended that the application of the law be by 'amnesty,' but 'amnesty' is established and applied only when the authorities are actually able to apply it. There is nothing to prevent the application except the power of the authorities. An 'amnesty' will become comprehensive overnight when the authorities assume all the reins of affairs. When the authorities are impotent and have not established their presence, the 'amnesty' becomes a kind of enticement for a further amnesty. In reality, it is our goal to issue an 'amnesty' which is steeped in a kind of deterrence. The person who commits a wrong after the declaration of a comprehensive amnesty must be punished, but nothing can be done. Perhaps sometimes the law has deterred some people, and justice has ultimately had its say, but sometimes reality is a person's greatest deterrent and sometimes the opposite is apparent. What we hope for is a return to the penal code and the execution of most of its provisions, bearing in mind that the penal code is the law that has been the most in abeyance, because crime today remains unpunished. For this reason, crimes take place every day, and violations are increasing day by day. The reality of conditions inflicts blatant harm on people against whom aggression is committed with respect to their person or property, and additional harm arises from the failure to apply the necessary punishment, which creates a kind of continued commission of it. That is, the additional harm is more grievous than the initial one because it has the effect of assuming general form and spreading throughout the society, because crime has remained unpunished and all the equilibrium in the society at that time is being disrupted. What is desired is for the authorities to regain their vigor. We want existing authorities which are able to apply the law to all citizens."

The union head 'Isam Karam continued:

"The reasons for the spread of these social plagues are for the most part moral and fundamental. Their results always are the commission of crime out of the need to steal. The thief must defend himself. This situation has not changed to this day but what makes it easier, enduring and continuing is that it goes unpunished. I can give you a real, natural example which could happen to us anyday. When I see that I am about to enter a home and remove all its objects, and no one deters me, I will go there the next day, to steal from it again. On the basis of this, I can state this proverb: 'Money that is abandoned gets to know illicit people.' Therefore I say, and reiterate, that what is needed are authorities to deter the people committing violations and put a limit to crime; otherwise, society is headed for collapse and annihilation. Although 'the war has made everything worse,' we can say that the causes of crime are the same, and what has made them more widespread is the lack of stability of security and order and their substitution by chaos, which has arisen from the events, which have left crime unpunished."

The head of the Lawyers' Union added:

"What there is no doubt about is that this is a universal wave. This wave of violence and terrorism has unfortunately outstripped its boundaries and reached us, and the fire of war has inflamed it. It has become inflamed to the point where we have almost become incapable of putting it out. The human spirit is basically the subject of a struggle between two propensities, the first toward good and the second toward evil; if this spirit does not come up against any deterrent to stop it from committing crimes or sins, it will undoubtedly continue along this road to evil, perhaps out of a feeling of a kind of delight. Theft, for example, and the acquisition of money, even on a forbidden basis, are still easier than working. How then if the thief finds that the game is easy? He will give himself free rein. No one who acts virtuously finds everything that faces him easy, because virtue is hard. Acting morally is not easy. Society is not built on this; rather, it is through law that we deter people, so that they will not let some people escape and so that they will not continue. We are not applying the law now; therefore, pillage and plunder exist on a broad scale, and I am worried about this nightmare which is hovering over our spirits because of what is happening in our society now."

#### The Opinion of Social Experts

The lawyer Musa Barnas, chairman of a number of societies concerned with social affairs, said:

"It is not necessary that we end the war, restore the economy in the country and get people to resume engaging in their ordinary activities. Rather, the important thing is that we face what is called the dangerous situation which is rapidly spreading in our country. The postwar society must face this dangerous situation, and it is not easy to confront it as far as Lebanon goes. The tragic conditions here have created a sort of sycophancy with respect to principles and rights. For example, private property is no longer protected



by the constitution, as a result of the acts of dispossession, confiscation and occupation.

"This situation calls for a deterrent which will inhibit individuals and armed groups, especially now that it has become permissible to usurp people's honor, debase people's dignity and crush people's spirits without remorse or qualm. Let us not forget here the repeated acts of murder, torture, revilement, capricious killing and thefts committed by individuals and groups. One thing that has recently emerged is the commission of acts of 'robbery' in broad daylight against all people, without discrimination between rich and poor, between men and women, between old people and children. At this point we wonder whether this is happening as a result of real need or whether the motive for these practices is vandalism, the degradation of people's rights and the destruction of the truth. All this, unfortunately, is being carried out by these people who have distorted the nature of struggle, have lost conscience and humanity, and have violated the law, of which people no longer are in awe, as in the past. The deception which is being wrought here assumes a distinctive character, and I can say this with the utmost frankness. Banks, offices and organizations are inundated with 'checks' that have no backing, and the issue of deposits is usually resolved by threats and intimidation. We are in a state of bankruptcy, but ours is a moral bankruptcy, nothing more, rather than an economic or social one. We have evolved from the dangerous situation resulting from the 10-year tragedy (10 years of drought) to the notion of 'the criminal-hero,' as Fu'ad 'Allamah said in the thirties. We add that the criminal-hero continues to be under a curtain of self-sacrifice and martyrdom, as if he is waiting for people to listen and to provoke politicians in this regard. We, today, need to have hard work performed for the sake of an almost impossible task and we need an act which will require the help of the nation's conscience and the conscience of the government, in addition to the human conscience, so that we will be able to create a social and educational culture which I label the post-war, post-tragedy culture, which will put a limit to the expression which is familiar among us: 'Lies are men's salt, and shame on the person who believes,' or the expression 'The clever person is justified by his cleverness.'"

[Question] Where in your opinion is the shore of salvation which we are trying to reach?

[Answer] We have to reach the shore of salvation through theoretical and applied studies. We must understand that people's rights to their own persons and their property are sacred and that their rights to freedom cannot be infringed, on condition that this freedom not be anarchical and that it stop with their consideration for the freedom of others. The dignity of man must not be trod underfoot. We cannot always lay all responsibility on the apex or the pyramid, in execution of the verse "And as you are he will look after you."

We must proceed in accordance with the principle of retaliation and prosecution by law, on condition that we be people who are attached to change and development in the direction of progress and virtue at the expense of regression and evil in our nation, Lebanon.

[Question] How can we analyze the dangerous situation you have mentioned? Is this consequently a situation one can go back to? More properly, how can we eliminate or do away with it?

[Answer] I stated previously that it is this dangerous situation which is causing fear, and I am worried about something else. Lebanon has come to resemble a point of reference for terrorism, terrorism which is a social phenomenon that has extended from a regional to an international context, from an individual to a collective comprehensive context. Terrorism exists in every country of the world but it has adopted a center or frightful base for itself here, especially since it is expanding and spreading out because it has found fertile ground. Terrorism sometimes gains conviction in nationalism and sometimes in social justice, setting off everything around itself, not paying attention to the number and types of victims, having found that Lebanon is fertile ground for crime and this small country of ours has become a major center of leadership and command. The issue is increasing in its ramifications day after day in this manner.

[Question] What is the influence of the terrorist community on the criminal psychology of persons and groups?

[Answer] The terrorist community, in its effect on criminal psychology among individuals and groups, is unparalleled. It is the offspring and substance of criminality and in its shuttle activities (between the apex and the base) takes part in developing and forming the psychology of the criminal. Today, we have started to point out that we have not been attentive to a group which in history was called the assassins and today has come to resemble criminals. The terrorist groups are innumerable and countless and are on international levels. Their weapons are destructive since they are founded on a faith and discipline which are strengthened by secrecy, and are restricted by technology (faith, discipline, secrecy and technology).

[Question] Who in your opinion are the victims of terrorism?

[Answer] The victims of terrorism are no longer confined to a special class of people, and the people committing terrorist acts come from every direction. They are linked to one another only by a loss of conscience, feeling and sensitivity. Their concern is to reach the peak of glory in vindictiveness and revenge, without honoring any person, point of reference or office. Their way of acting is to carry out the tasks assigned to them without reservation or hesitation, no matter how difficult or nearly impossible they might be, in total secrecy. The impossible is alien to their lexicon and becomes, in their view, a mere possibility, as if they will inevitably attain it even if they sacrifice their lives for that purpose, and as if they are the unknown soldiers in the world of terrorism. International terrorism, alongside the atomic bomb, can annihilate mankind in the latter part of the 20th century. Therefore we need a review, not of the laws and legislation we have, because all that is good -- rather, it is necessary to review education for the sake of bringing back the conscience, sound thinking, and proper opinions and to define matters and put them in their proper, legal place. Theft, killing and fraud are crimes that need rapid treatment, since the situation becomes more dangerous when it assumes the character of

seriousness and determination. We need to put Lebanon in the intensive care room, not economically or socially but in terms of education, with the objective of rebuilding people's spirits, because the crisis, the tragedy, in Lebanon has caused us to lose social and humane values under the cover of defending national values. The cause of the child's rebellion against paternal authority is that he is defending the family by being armed. In reality, we cannot cause him suffering, because he has been swept up in a frightening current. We fought the presence of arms and they now are available and in front of us. We fought drugs and most of our combatants now are addicted to them in order to carry out audacious suicide attacks to defend the nation. The important thing is to defend not the nation and its rights but rather the humanity within it, so that it will not be destroyed or deteriorate. We must protect our young people because they will be threatened with loss if they do not know how to distinguish between truth and falsehood, because the truth is linked to the form which they themselves understand no matter how much that might cost. We must bring young people back to the straight path so that we will be able to rebuild the nation and save the nation's territory by saving its spirit. Therefore, we must rearrange the Lebanese mentality in order to return it to its former times and again recognize sound serious education in the adoption of difficult, crucial decisions by using all the necessary powers in the form of human elements, that is, attracting specialized people and getting them to take part in the process of building people's spirits, in addition to the need for officials to be interested in the context of providing the other resources which are necessary from the moral and material standpoints.

[Question] Could we say that we have been affected by the international criminal current?

[Answer] Yes, it is an international wave, for the reason that some international specialists recently predicted this frightening phenomenon.

The criminal current is increasing every day in a dangerous manner in all areas of the world. Here we will not conduct investigation into this group; it does not concern us, outside our country, where this wave has become negatively widespread in view of our unstable condition, especially in the recent period, since the issue of the creation of different environments and mutually alienated classes has helped the outbreak of criminality as a result of criminal disruption, which arises from economic disruption. Although we are living in this small segment of the world, our aspirations have become greater than the area of this segment and have gone beyond its local regional boundaries, and we have become cramped. Therefore we have carried out international activities and have demanded rapid returns without pausing to contemplate and take the element of time into consideration. Speed — speed is what is leading us into chaos and is crushing us on many occasions. We think of our children and grandchildren and how we will be leaving them the fragments of a nation though we aspire to leave it as a humane, moral entity.

[Question] You have said that international terrorism has found fertile terrain in Lebanon. Do you believe that had there been no war the resistance would have been greater?

[Answer] In reality, Lebanon was more remote from this atmosphere in the past, since it would not have accepted this kind of terrorism and it had an immunity for warding it off. The war has aggravated the situation and opened the door wide.

[Question] Can we break terrorism down into different types, or does it consist of one type?

[Answer] Terrorism consists of numerous types, but its source is the same. There are political terrorism, economic terrorism and social terrorism. Speculating in the rate of the dollar is nothing but a type of economic and social terrorism both, since its goal is to fragment people's thoughts, terrify them and spread about news which causes anxiety for the purpose of confusing people and diverting them from what is going on in actual conditions, on the ground. The creation of panic has become collective and is not restricted to a specific person. Part of that is the lack of stability in the security situation surrounding us as a result of chaos and lack of discipline, without the application of laws and the absence of legitimate authorities which can repress all these vile things. We have said that terrorism consists of various types, but its source is the same, and it is manifested in the love of revolution, the holding of coups d'etat and the creation of imbalance in the country, in addition to the dissemination of the spirit of revenge, threats, tyranny, force and terror against the ruling regime. Although terrorism is not organized among its groups, it assumes a single character, directed against the regime in every country and against peace in the form of revolution, coups and outbursts at the same time. The terrorism blacks practice against whites follows, or is produced by, corresponding matching terror by whites against blacks.

[Question] Who in your opinion is responsible?

[Answer] We are all responsible, from those of us who are great to the small of us. I am responsible and you are responsible, because the whole structure of the society consists of wrongs on top of wrongs. The economic situation, whose evil is becoming aggravated, and the war occurred to disclose the faults and show the Lebanese situation in its true state, once it had been deprived of the service sector. We have to launch a campaign to remedy this situation and stop the declining curve here forcefully. I say that had it not been for the war, the wave would have been more limited. Even the borders would have been open to everyone. Let us not forget that the war created schools for terrorist militia and all standards have been upset.

[Question] Can we consider that this international terrorism is itself the anxiety of the times which the French and most European countries suffered from in different periods, starting with the 16th century?

[Answer] In my opinion it is more than the anxiety of the times. International terrorism has gone beyond the boundaries of the anxiety of the times. It is necessary to eliminate the criminal environment and rely on sound educational methods to fight criminality, while distinguishing between the person who steals bread lest he die of hunger and the person who deliberately steals and kills out of greed and malice. The important thing is for us to

eliminate the causes which lead to these misfortunes before their situation gets out of hand, as much as possible, oversee criminals closely and cure them. In doing so we will be setting out toward the society more comprehensively. Here it is necessary to apply the laws so that we will not reach the stage of applying the law of the jungle -- whoever kills is killed, even if after a time. Arbitrary murder has become well known and factionalism is represented and practiced in a negative manner. The victims have always been citizens. Either their ears would be cut off or their noses or legs would be amputated. Unfortunately, the instinct of evil among us is developing, because the climate is more suitable today for it to become crystallized in negative form, that is, man is a social animal with an evil instinct which has become more oriented toward evil. However, we can stop this slide and break its neck, as is said in the common dialect, by taking the necessary measures and procedures to crush it. "Money which has been abandoned knows illegitimate people."

[Question] What is the solution?

[Answer] There are direct, rapid solutions to keep the wave from spreading rapidly, and there are also long-term solutions. Striking sharply to eliminate the sheltering of criminals is needed now, since it is necessary to make everyone know that there is a law that is being applied to everyone, prison for people bearing weapons without permit; confining weapons to the hands of the legitimate authorities and the army is also a direct solution. Creating a suitable economic situation for people not to get to the stage of hunger and want, and therefore theft. It is necessary to put a limit to the acts of expropriation and theft of other people's property. Closing the Bongo and Flippers houses. If the Lebanese crisis is solved politically, we wonder who will solve it on the social and human levels.

Here is the telling blow. We have reached a point where man is afraid of his fellow man. The militias here have created a sort of union among people. Criminals are supported by their ilk, and the local political bodies support them and conceal their acts.

#### The View of Education

Dr Ili Qastun, director of the second branch of the Faculty of Education in the Lebanese University, said:

"It is an international wave and it has its direct and indirect causes. The violence which is produced by this international wave arises from unsound education through the media circulating in all area of the world, by which we mean video movies (such as movies of violence or the 'porno' movies which young people see without guidance, direction or even attention from their families). Unfortunately, this phenomenon has extended to Lebanon, since an education which is 100 percent sound does not exist. By the way, the latest lecture I attended, to which I was invited, in Belgium, addressed itself to the subject of the wave of violence and the results that that has led to, with their grievous consequences. Proceeding from this situation, which is threatening the young people of Europe and also the young people of the whole world -- we are concerned with the young people of Lebanon --



officials there have started to become aware of the danger of these things, which affect the morality of the individual principally, and the extent of their effect on the society as a whole and in general, because their effect has now become terrible, especially that which arises from the media as I mentioned above. Some specialists have agreed over the need to solve them by censoring ordinary television programs, that is, this matter has been assigned to specialized educational authorities. If we want to expand the radius of the spread of this dangerous phenomenon, we can only mention the causes of increased recreation abroad and also the causes of the fragmentation of the family. Unfortunately, this disease has started to seep into some of our Lebanese families, and we are afraid that this plague will spread throughout the whole society."

[Question] What factors, in your view, affect the fragmentation of the family?

[Answer] The greatest factor affecting the fragmentation of the family is leaving children with servants. Female servants, as we know, cannot be as concerned for someone else's child as that child's mother is. Foreign female servants in Lebanon on many occasions harm our children, contrary to what we want from them.

The increasing freedom that is given to children at the expense of the formation of their personality in a sound manner and at the expense of the need to show interest in them so that they can grow up in a healthy atmosphere are among the direct reasons which we have the obligation to solve before things become aggravated, at which point it will be difficult to resolve the entire problem. When the solution of this social problem by creating the appropriate solution for ourselves gets out of our hands, at that time, specifically, we will feel that we have lost the generation which is to build the Lebanon of tomorrow. The programs which they watch are for the most part programs with a purely material purpose and not cultural and guidance programs; this requires that the attention of some specialized officials be drawn to finding an alternative. I do not blame the young criminals; rather, during the lecture in Belgium, I requested that they not be punished, because they are not the ones directly responsible for the vile acts which they commit against themselves, against the society and consequently against the nation, since the society in which they have lived has removed moral upbringing from the scene and civil education from the schools.

[Question] Will the problem be solved by introducing civil education and other national and moral forms of guidance into the school programs? To what extent are they effective, in your opinion?

[Answer] As I have previously mentioned, physical education is not authorized in the educational curricula here, and there is no guidance for our children from anyone; even in the home we find that people, in order to get rid of their children, sometimes compel them to go down into the streets to play and leave them alone. On another hand, the children feel that they are exercising their freedom in full, far from the family, in near isolation from them, which is attributable to the affluence of the family. When the father goes to his regular job and from there to his own business, the lady

of the house seizes the ripe opportunity to meet her own needs too; we even see that some ladies have become notorious at the "game of chance," "Flippers" and "Bingo." Proceeding from this sad state of affairs, we find that mothers leave their children with neighbors or with servants, and consequently meet with their children only at the dinner table sometimes or to watch a video movie at other times. Where do you suppose the role of the lady and mother lies? They are thus all living with the movie that is being showed and are not living a family life with all the meaning the word entails.

[Question] You talked about the natural society remote from war, and the analysis of these evil things is related to the fringes of the war. Could you relate them to one another? Are there good sides to the war?

[Answer] In my opinion, it is not necessary to lay all the reasons for our failure on the war, because the war has good things, in addition to the bad ones; war brings people together and makes them depend on one another, out of fear of death. That is, in other words, it is the children's longing for their family out of fear of adversity. It is possible that the events or the absence of discipline might have created the phenomena of violence, but the wave which we are passing through is more violent and more at odds with the terrifying reality, since it could have been more violent even if the war's violence had diminished. As far as introducing civil education into the school programs goes, that subject enters into the heart of the solution. Attention is supposed to be given to the teacher and his proper preparation, especially as far as the kindergarten and primary levels are concerned. One should bear in mind that primary teachers in the advanced countries are more guided than others and that officials' attention is concentrated on them, because pupils are more affected than big students. For this reason, the basis of education, then, is at the kindergarten and primary levels, and the attention of officials must be drawn to them, because we unfortunately still are behind in this regard. On the other hand, we find that the pupils are not given adequate time to interact with their colleagues in school or at home because of the intensified programs. They do not even find anyone to guide them on the streets. Our children are living in a terrible isolation which leads them automatically to violence, whether we want this or reject it, because the young person's violence will explode sooner or later in all the well known ways.

[Question] What does the "child of the war" mean to you? Is that always the same refractory reckless person?

[Answer] There are two kinds of children of war. The first kind steals for purposes of theft and greed, because he hears that others besides him are stealing. The second kind steals out of urgent need for a living, perhaps in order not to die of hunger. I do not blame the latter kind, because he is going through a struggle for survival against a death struggle in order not to be harmed by hunger. Stealing a loaf of bread is not something vile. However, I do blame him for failing to pursue some occupation, because honorable labor will keep him from succumbing to material deprivation. I believe that the scope for work is broad. We have olive picking, road repair and house repair. We have many activities which need manpower; why should we



employ foreigners and not leave room for our young people to work in these activities and consequently take part in the reconstruction and rebuilding of Lebanon?

The only hope for these young people is for the authorities to be concerned with them and hand them work and jobs to rebuild what has been destroyed and restore their nation, which is always calling out to them, is in need of them and cries out to them from the depths. It is the voice of the widow, the voice of the orphan, the voice of the dispossessed, and the voice of the deprived, the debased and the weak. I have previously openly proposed the establishment of an agricultural course for our lost young people who do not know where to go and where to spend their free time; there are no clubs, theaters, or sporting clubs, and all things are interconnected. They are a continuum which is firmly interconnected to our deficient society and our sorrowful state of affairs, and consequently to our paltry resources.

[Question] You have repeatedly mentioned the phrase "it is an obligation on officials, and a duty and requirement"; how do you define these things, and what do you recommend in their regard?

[Answer] I recommend the establishment of a ministry concerned just with family affairs, along the lines of the Ministry of Youth and Family which now exists in Germany and most advanced countries, that is, one concerned just with the affairs of young people and the family. The responsibility, in my view, lies with the officials concerned in the first place, followed by the whole society, including the family, the school and the faction to which the individual belongs. As a result, we are all to some extent responsible for what is going on.

[Question] Some of our young people are most superficially oriented toward western thinking, that is, in terms of clothes, fighting and excessive swearing; how can one make them understand that the West also has a deep-rooted intellectual civilization, regardless of the trivial things they mimic in it?

[Answer] There are two types of tourists: a type which interacts profoundly and logically with Western society; this concerns the "elite," if what we call it is the group which is much more educated than we imagine and consequently can bring us only civilization from the West which will enrich us and increase our knowledge. Here I would like to go on to say that the people who travel from Lebanon, deal only with a specific environment and have moved there with their ideas and customs from Lebanon are living there as if the atmosphere of their life has not changed. As to the second type of tourist, the Lebanese crucible in the West alone, which they have become familiar with, causes them to open up to others. Even in the countries of the West we still observe some genuine inhabitants who have not become acquainted with material pomp and its false manifestations in the form of affluence and luxury, and they consequently have continued to retain the moral values and rights of the individual in a lawful, pure manner which is devoid of flaws. We still see European families which are much more conservative than Lebanese families and people who interact deeply with their moral values, customs and nature, probe their depths and explore their true nature with

the goal of elevating the spirit. The education which we have relied on in the past and the considerations of bravery, chivalry, nostalgia, devotion to the land, cooperation and dignity that arose from them have gone into the recesses of oblivion now and are no longer widespread as in the past, and we have therefore lost the Lebanese mystic spirit which we were proud of in the days of our grandfathers and the days of glory.

[Question] What has become clear to you on the basis of the study which you recently made, bearing on students' thinking during this crucial period specifically?

[Answer] The study which I recently made on students appeared in the form of statistics on 500 male and female students ranging from 8 to 18 years of age. I asked them to write down seven consecutive words in a specific time. It became apparent to me that unfortunately the words I had mentioned above, which prove, if they prove, the civilization of a people and the genuineness of the Lebanese, no longer exist in our children's lexicon. They do not know them. I will give you an example:

A female in the third year of secondary, in laboratory sciences, wrote seven words which came to her mind: rose, iron, nail, dress, television set, car, dance and blood. These words indicate triviality in this girl's thinking. Even the words nation, love and cooperation do not exist as a genuine concept in their minds. The same is the case with respect to freedom, loftiness, vigor and land.

What they wrote down for me consisted only of material words remote from the imagination and romantic vision. Even a girl at the age of puberty, 14, did not use them. Our young people are in danger since they are going through the stage of adolescence recklessly, under weakness and anxiety. If we do not rectify this situation, the country's assets in the future will also be in danger. In order for us to return to our genuine nature, we must work to build people's spirits before starting to build the country.

[Question] What is the anticipated solution, in your opinion?

[Answer] The anticipated solution does not require a political reconciliation or any other notion related to the foreign or domestic world. It requires the creation of recreational centers for these young people and also public parks, zoos, cultural clubs, clubs for cultural guidance and others for sports and artistic and guidance stages at a high level. In addition, it is necessary to establish public libraries and urge our young people to read, which will work to nourish their spirit, develop their minds and expand their horizons. I also hope that people will help the school raise their children and consequently offer them a comfortable atmosphere so that this interaction between the child and the family on the one hand and his family and the school on the other, and also between the child and his colleagues as well, may develop. Guiding people to work to revive the family is extremely necessary, in order to prevent its fragmentation, which has become an extremely pressing matter as are getting young people to take part in the resurgence of agricultural redevelopment and the need to restore the academic term to its former condition so that the child can get to know his

friends better and feel comfortable with his studies. We have had enough of cramming rapid information into his mind without his being able to absorb it over a period of time.

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CSO: 4404/402

LEBANON

BRIEFS

COMMERCIAL SECTION PRICES--The prices of land in the commercial section in Beirut recorded an increase, according to the appraisal decrees issued by a committee in the office of the chairmanship of Judge 'Abdallah Nasir. The price per square meter of one piece of real estate which was reappraised rose from 11,000 to 14,000 pounds. Was the reappraisal based on the factor of inflation, which has been present for years, or has it been based on the actual value of the land when it was appraised at the time? [Text] [Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 11 May 85 p 32]

CSO: 4404/394

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

NEW PALESTINIAN ENCYCLOPEDIA PUBLISHED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 29 Jun 85 pp 61-63

[Text] At a time labeled the Arab time of devastation, from under the rubble of the conflict, the heap of frustrations, the drone of bad news and sad reports, and in the thick of sharp reverses that are raging in Palestinian affairs, turning them toward the right and left, tossing them together and hurling them apart, bombarding and dividing; in the middle of all this fire this splendid pioneering work pours forth like labor pains that announce a coming of safe delivery.

A large book of facts and numbers-history, geography economy, sciences, art; the disciplines of astronomy, philosophy and mathematics; and quotations, names, incidents, customs, climate and nature-all that long period of prolific labor, the deep-rooted and the visible past as well as the present on display the Palestinian Encyclopedia summarizes in eloquent words and clear phrases, saying in the purest language and very loudly, "The Arab battle with Zionism will not be decided with the rifle alone, but it is a cultural battle of the first rank."

This serious complete work is a cultural stand worthy of being placed in the ranks of the great works, appropriate for immortality.

[There are] four large sections, with 646 pages in each section. The information is documented with sources, provided with dates and numbers. Scientific substantive breadth maintains complete neutrality to psychological and historical integrity. There is no bias, but if there is, it is a summary of the fact and the essence of the truth. Therefore the work is purely objective. It is merely a scientific document that condemns the lie and the flim flam and disproves the prevailing myths about the legitimacy of the Israeli state, which enemies continue to circulate, so that all people, both the ignorant and the educated, are deceived.

The Beginning

During the last part of 1974 an agreement was made between the Arab Organization of Culture and Science and the Palestine Liberation Organization calling for production of an encyclopedia on Palestine after learning of the persistent need for pulling together the bits of information, studies and facts scattered in history books and journals of specialists. The drafting of the outline of the encyclopedia was commissioned.

With reliability, exactness and knowledge, with a specific aim, not limited in time and not for short-range objectives, it was to be seen as a definitive document, including the facets of life and knowledge clearly and comprehensively.

#### The A B C's of the Work

The job of forming a special staff for planning and setting down the A B C's of the work was begun immediately. Then, for this purpose, an advisory council was established to select the work team which would take on this great responsibility. The selection was made carefully and successfully, keeping in mind the matter of including the various specialities and cultural and scientific degrees, seeking historical and scientific reliability, with the prerequisite of know-how.

So the work began. More than 200 researchers, experts and specialists concentrated on gathering everything connected with Palestine, its past and its present, old and new, its land and its people.

The work was characterized by organization, maintaining reliability and precision, remarkable patience and persistence, and by strict scientific procedure. The first quick steps were taken to hurry and get established and show performance.

The road was not altogether smooth, especially since this achievement is the first Arab experience in this field, and on the subject of Palestine. The committee was not working in isolation. The technical and scientific planning was completed. The pan-Arab financing was provided, something that, in itself, represents a major Arab accomplishment in this regard, since active Arab forces stood behind this project-states, foundations, organizations, universities, scientific institutes, professors, specialists, scholars and technicians; active instruments in the fields of theory, administration, art and the humanities; gave everything they could, and withheld nothing, in time and effort. The work became worthy of praise and pride. The Saudi support, as the preface indicates, particularly stood out in the joint pan-Arab support in which most Arab states shared the in pool of the elite and quality expertise.

#### Palestine ... Palestine

There is no issue in modern times that has claimed the attention and gotten the abundant share of study, debate and comparison as the Palestine issue has.

Perhaps because of its historical, geographical and humanitarian importance it is the key to stability in the whole Middle East, and is, at the same time, a bomb and a mine fuse.

But in spite of all that has come out about Palestine, in books, studies, newspaper and magazine articles, and broadcasts, these are merely scattered individual efforts, despite their importance, dispersed among the specialized books and periodicals that may be of interest to one researcher but not another, or may help this scholar but fail to benefit that one.

Besides this broken up effect in the subjects of the Palestinian issue and the small, paltry amount of documented studies available that deal with such a vital matter, foreign bookshelves are teeming with what the publishing houses and hostile foundations have put out in the way of studies that distort the facts and insinuate untruths and delusions, which are done with much repetition, and their presence in show windows and the media deceives everyone, both the ignorant and the educated alike.

Because some encyclopedias wrote about Palestine, not in Arabic, and did not contain objective restraint and neutrality and did not stay clear of bias, partiality and bigotry, they wrote to serve predetermined purposes. Therefore they are tarnished with suspicion that disqualifies them because of the lack of impartiality in work such as this. The matter has, at this particular time, begun to cry out for an extensive, complete, scrupulous authoritative resource that contains the diverse facets of Palestine, is useful to scholar and professor, is understood by everyone and mentions its sources, Arab and foreign alike, without casting suspicion or doubt.

Hence this learned, reliable work is not a media propaganda work, but timely in impression, mixed in attitude, broad in information. The effort that went into it and the results that set it apart put it in the ranks of the great works that have long life, deep impact, and definite results.

#### Entry Method for the Encyclopedia

What was collected was put into three categories: land, people and culture, and the issue

Then, in each category, branches were made to cover the advance research of the work team, from the outstanding scholars, specialists, and those assigned the task, each in his field. Choice of the material was taken into account, as well as its bearing on the role of Palestine in the march of human culture.

After this, the material was divided into three sections.

The first contained the material in alphabetical order according to topic.

The second contained some of the basic material that was chosen from more than 2,000 topics, the subjects of which were dealt with exhaustively, for special basic study.

As for the third section, it included statistics, pictures and maps, and an index with the sources.

The first section of the encyclopedia, the general alphabetical section, has been completed and will be released soon, according to the preview. The second section, which will contain the specialized, selected studies on the main, complete subjects, is in preparation. No matter where there is a report on something, there is a short item on it in the first part.



The material was arranged in alphabetical order, making it easy for users of the encyclopedia to find what they are looking for without any trouble. The material is written in medium-sized arabic letters, which is what most Arab writers use. Solar Christian dates are used in general in the summary of the encyclopedia, including the lives of the eminent personalities. But Hegira dates may be added beside the Christian ones, whenever there is need for them.

Most of the research of the encyclopedia has an index at the end, near the summary that contains the most reliable authorities for further study of the material if need be. Most of the maps show places where people are concentrated on their locations, and a combined map is devoted to each Palestinian village. All the material in the category of the land is restricted to the localities, sites and population centers that are included in the borders of Palestine, recognized in accordance with the mandate document, but with the exception of the Golan Heights, which is outside the borders of Palestine.

The following matters and items are included in the encyclopedia:

A - The villages obliterated by the Hebrew states, regardless of the size or number of residents, except for the small ones that had no more than 10 persons.

B - A consolidated study on the Arab villages obliterated before establishment of the Israeli entity, giving the names and a look at their description, is included in the encyclopedia.

C - All the Arab villages that exist now, the Arab residents of which exceed 5,000 at the time of issue of the encyclopedia.

D - The large Jewish groupings that exceed 20,000 residents.

Also included in the encyclopedia is a great number of names of the outstanding Arab personalities who shared in making the scientific, intellectual and combat history of Palestine.

What distinguishes this colossal work is its considerable humility and its eloquent, gentle tone. This distinction hangs like a badge on the chest of the work team, and its humility fits the words of the preface, which is written by the director general of the Arab Organizations for Culture and Sciences, the chairman of the board of directors of the commission and the director in chief, who intends for the encyclopedia to share in helping the reader with the learning he is groping for without giving up the splendid, human modesty. He says:

"We do not claim to have done well in all that we have written, or to have scored in everything we have enumerated. And we do not claim a grasp of all the opinions, details and quotations that we have cited. But this is the first effort of its type in Arabic. It may help someone who is seeking full information free from passion and prejudice, and we hope that we have been successful in filling a gap, even a small one, in the field of Palestinian studies."

[Inset on p 63] On the Margin

- More than 200 scholars, researchers, and specialists made available to work on the encyclopedia.
- Completion of the first part took 11 years.
- Its advisory board contained the creme de la creme of Arab state personalities. Among them are heads of republics, heads of governments and ministers, as well as a multitude of media people with special expertise and knowledge.
- The first section of the encyclopedia contains 4 parts, each of which contains some 600 large pages.
- The inside cover has a sketch of al-Aqsa mosque as a symbol and token.
- The project was accomplished with the political and financial support of the Arab states. The Saudi support was outstanding.
- The price of the encyclopedia, with its four parts, is \$200 for the organizations, or \$100 for individuals.
- In the work that has been accomplished, Arab unity has been confirmed in its purest sense. The whole team, which included individuals from all the Arab states, worked as a homogeneous, solid, jointly responsible unit.

12496

CSO: 4404/392

SYRIA

## PROBLEMS OF INFLATION, EXPANDING CONSUMPTION REVIEWED

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 8-14 May 85 p 31

[Article: "Syria Prepares a Plan to Cope with the Increase in Spending: Guidance of Consumption Is Al-Kasim's Greatest Challenge"]

[Text] Damascenes are circulating a group of politico-economic jokes, if one may use the expression, these days. One joke is focused on the following odd incident: the government employees in Syria went to Prime Minister 'Abd-al-Ra'uf al-Kasim and asked him to raise their salaries, on grounds that they could not buy the necessary requirements for their homes on the current ones. The premier asked them for a grace period of 24 hours so that he could study the subject under actual conditions. During the period, he made a tour of all the consumer organizations and evinced his desire to buy sugar, lemons, butter, tomatoes and toilet paper. However, the vendors kept answering him "There is none, it doesn't exist, it's used up!" Therefore when the employees came back after the specific period of time had elapsed to get the reply, the premier answered them by saying, "Why do you want an increase in salaries while the goods you want to buy are missing?"

Of course exaggeration, which constitutes a major ingredient in joke-making, can be observed in the abovementioned Damascene joke, but this kind of joke generally is not uttered out of a vacuum. Economic crisis or crisis in living is not lacking in Syria. Here the Syrian president, Hafiz al-Asad, emphasized it in the context of his speech before the People's Assembly (parliament) on 12 March 1985, when he said "We realize that we are suffering from problems of living, and we will study and discuss all the possibilities which will allow us to reduce the burden of these problems."

In reality, apprehensions about economic standards of living have dominated most of the proceedings of the eighth Arab Socialist Ba'th Party regional conference recently held in Damascus. Indeed, this issue will be one of President al-Asad's main tasks during his third constitutional term.

### How Will It Deal with It?

How, however, can the new Syrian cabinet deal with the problem? Will this be through greater encouragement of the private sector, as some people

interested in the Syrian economy think? Furthermore, is the appointment of al-'Imadi as minister of economy to be considered an indication of that? He was working as an economic consultant in Kuwait when he was appointed.

Some people who promote this sort of subject in the Arab world neglect present facts and actual conditions and rely on an analysis which proceeds from the premise of intrinsic desires rather than tangible data.

In Syria, at present, there are three sectors in the economic context, the public sector, the joint sector and the private sector. Of course, the public sector is the foundation. The existence of the "Military Housing Organization," which is concerned with the construction and furnishing of houses and so forth, may be the best example. Will the new economic policy be oriented toward weakening the public sector? President al-Asad tells the members of the People's Assembly, in exactly these words, "In the coming stage, we will seek to develop the public sector and rid it of all obstacles, so that it can remain a leadership sector!" It is true that the new policy will work "to encourage the joint sector and the private sector," and it is true that this policy will try "to realize integration among the three sectors," proceeding from the premise that each of them has "an important part to play in strengthening the economic base," but it is more correct that the public sector will remain the leading edge of the sectors in economic policy in Syria.

At the eighth regional conference, the issue of the sugar refinery, which is considered one of the most prominent manifestations of the public sector, was raised. The people who discussed the subject did not hesitate to stress the failure of the plant, because the cost per kilogram of sugar in the plant is equal to several times what the price would be if the government imported it. The intention is not now being directed to shutting down the plant. Indeed, what will happen to the sugar refinery or other public sector institutions is "an increase in production and an increase in development," in the words of the Syrian president.

On the subject of problems of living, in the context of discussing the government's intention to solve these problems, President al-Asad has requested the citizens to follow the policy of austerity, on grounds that "we are in a state of war with an enemy," and another enemy, which can be called "waste," must not impede the process. To this end, the Syrian president said, "When we find electricity on the length of one of the streets in the city by day, and when there is no need for that, since it must be lit by night and not by day, we must hasten to warn the entity concerned by every means and condemn this body when it does not respond or this mistake is repeated." More than that, the Syrian president is urging his compatriots to feel their responsibility, as well, "on keeping water faucets on, with water running, when there is no need for that, and for every person to take the initiative to turn off the faucets or repair them if they are broken down."

Nonetheless, in spite of the current living difficulties, the prices of real property and apartments in Syria in general and in the capital in particular are rising at fantastic rates. The price of an ordinary apartment in the al-Qassa' section, for instance, is no less than 1 million Syrian pounds, and

this apartment's price in 6 months will become 1.5 million pounds. What is the secret behind this?

### The Secret behind Inflation

For months, the Arab and international press has been referring to the discovery of oil in northern Syria, but the Syrian media have neglected this important matter. However, discussions on the subject among Syrians have been incessant. Of course there are various views. Therefore, I posed the question about Syrian oil to a Syrian engineer working with the American company Bechtel, which is in charge of the drilling [sic] in the north, and he replied, "The drilling is still in its initial stages. What has been discovered so far confirms that the quality of the oil is good, and in addition there is optimism for further discoveries."

President al-Asad, in his turn, referred to that in the context of his speech, in which he dealt with economic problems. He said, "In the realm of oil, light oil has been discovered here recently. This is the first time this type of oil has been discovered in Syria. While we cannot talk now about the volumes of this oil available to us, in view of the lack of adequate data for such talk, the discovery of this sort of oil in two of our fields so far in the scientific sense strengthens hope of the possibility that it is present in other fields and other areas."

The following question remains: Will the oil that has been discovered constitute a solution to the Syrian problem of the economy and living?

Of course, the oil will be the decisive, comprehensive solution, since all other solutions fall short of the excessive problems, but from now on, until the high-grade Syrian oil is flowing in large quantities, the series of jokes will continue to exist. The person following up on it most conspicuously and finding it witty is said to be President al-Asad himself.

11887

CSO: 4404/394

22 August 1985

## YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

## PREMIER, EDITORS DISCUSS PAPERS' ROLE IN COUNTRY

GF201522 Sanaa AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 4 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] Sanaa, SABA' News Agency--Brother 'Abd al-'Aziz 'Abd al-Ghani, prime minister and member of the Standing Committee of the General People's Congress, met yesterday with editors-in-chief of privately owned papers. At the beginning of the meeting the prime minister welcomed the editors-in-chief and emphasized the importance of the private papers carrying out their role in enlightening the masses and developing national awareness so as to serve the country's development objectives in the free and democratic climate that enables the private press to carry out its role and to fully shoulder its responsibility in serving the homeland. He stressed the importance of the timely publication of private papers so that they can maintain their links with the decisionmaking process.

During the meeting they discussed several issues connected with the development of privately owned papers and the role of such papers, together with the official press, in reporting the great developments taking place in our country. They also discussed the prominent role which the private press should play in making citizens aware of the importance of the forthcoming elections to expand the General People's Congress and to set up local councils for cooperative development, and to be aware of their effective and positive participation in electing honest elements that are capable of contributing, and to be aware of exercising their democratic right by taking part in the political decisionmaking process. The expansion of the General People's Congress and the establishment of local councils for cooperative development are new steps and magnificent democratic experiences that constitute some of the tributaries of strengthening and enriching democratic work, implementation of the practical goals, and are in line with the events and total development taking place in our country under the leadership of the president and secretary general of the General People's Congress, Brother Colonel 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih.

Brother Ahmad Qasim Dahmish, the prime minister's adviser for information affairs and doyen of journalists; and Brother 'Abd al-Rahman al-Akwa', Information and Culture Ministry under secretary for the media, attended.

CSO: 4400/211

YEMEN ARAB REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

OPEC FUND LOAN--Vienna, 23 July (WAKH)--The OPEC International Development Fund today granted an \$8.15 million loan to three developing countries: The YAR, Niger, and Mali. The loans will be used in the development process of those countries. According to the agreements, the YAR received \$4 million to develop the organ for storing and distributing petroleum products at the Yemeni al-Salif Port and also to construct storage depots and install pipelines from the above-mentioned port to the capital, Sanaa. The agreement was signed for the YAR by YAR Finance Minister Ahmad al-Wajih in Vienna today. [Summary] [Manama WAKH in Arabic 1735 GMT 23 Jul 85 GF]

CSO: 4400/211



AFGHANISTAN

AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH USSR FOR OFFICE COMPLEX CONSTRUCTION

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 23 Jun 85 p 1

[Text] The Soviet Union will help the DRA with 1.3 billion afghanis in equipment needed by the Bibi Mehru Macro Rayon.

The agreement for aid and sending 48 Soviet experts to advance this task was signed yesterday in Kabul between the housing manufacturing factory of Kabul and the v/o Tekhnostroyeksport of the Soviet Union.

According to this agreement, the Soviet Union will provide 300 million afghanis for a period of 3 years as a long-term loan with easy conditions, to be paid in afghanis.

The housing manufacturing factory, making use of the equipment and materials that will be delivered in accordance with this agreement, will build more than 50 housing blocks of 45 polyclinics, schools, kindergartens, shops, and cultural and public buildings within a period of 3 years. In building the blocks, the Macro Rayon of Bibi Mehru and the development and training of skilled cadre will benefit from the experts of the friendly country of the Soviet Union.

The housing manufacturing factory of Kabul was donated more than 20 years ago by the friendly country of the Soviet Union to the people of Afghanistan. As the major construction establishment of the city of Kabul and a significant example of the strong cooperation of the friendly country of the Soviet Union, thus far it has constructed 3 Macro Rayon in the city of Kabul with the capacity of more than 50,000 people.

According to the agreement that was signed last year between the governments of Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the future development of the housing manufacturing factory has been projected to extend the annual capacity to 100,000 square meters of residential area.

According to a plan that will be implemented within the next 15 years, the Bibi Mehru residential area will build residential blocks on 487 hectares of land within the area of 200,000 square meters of housing, which will house about 90,000 people, along with other public facilities and will be placed at the disposal of our working compatriots who have suffered years of homelessness and being without shelter.

10,000

CSO: 4665/108

AFGHANISTAN

NATIONAL FATHERLAND FRONT HELPING FARMERS

Kabul ANIS in Dari 29 May 85 pp 1, 4

[Text] During the fourth quarter of 1984-1985 and the first two months of this year, the Badakhshan Provincial Council of the National Fatherland Front [NFF] organized on more than 40 occasions voluntary jobs in which a total of 6,500 persons participated, both group and individual members of councils at the provincial and subdistrict level and the capital of Fayzabad. In these voluntary works cleaning of city districts, paving of public roads, repair of bridges and footbridges and the repair of the local television, and painting of mosques took place. Furthermore, the transfer of border trade goods from members of the NFF councils in the districts of Darvaz, Ashkasham, Vakhsh Zhabak and Shanghnan, and the repair of security posts in the subdistricts of Karan and Majnan took place. From these works about 3,000,000 afghanis of income were realized.

A source at the Badakhshan Provincial Council of the NFF said: In order to mobilize the farmers in the village councils and encourage them to cultivate their parcels of land, the propaganda employees of the Badakhshan Provincial NFF Council carried out extensive and comprehensive propaganda in the villages of Sang Mahar, Tabash, Chatah, Ba-ye Molasi, etc. In conclusion they collected their suggestions and requests concerned the delayed arrival of wheat seed, chemical fertilizer and animal and plant pesticides, and referred them to official authorities.

Furthermore the number of water monitors throughout Badakhshan Province has reached 70, 20 of whom were appointed and elected during the current year.

The source added: the Badakhshan Province NFF Council introduced its representatives to the land and water reform operations groups in the capital and districts. During the fourth quarter of last year and the two months of this year they were able to distribute 620 land deeds to 117 landless families and 167 families with small holdings in the Ashkasham District, 403 deeds to 115 landless families and 303 families with small plots in the Baharak District, 78 landless farmers in the Khahan Subdistrict and 109 deeds to 20 landless families and 89 families with small holdings in the province's capital.

Furthermore, in the course of its unremitting cooperation with the land and water reform operations groups, the representatives of the Badakhshan Provincial Council of the NFF settled the area of 12,348.635 acres of land, equivalent to 5,633.67 acres of first-class land, throughout the province.

The source added: During the fourth quarter of last year and the two months of this year, the Badakhshan Provincial Council of the NFF established four family dispute resolving commissions, two co-educational advisory societies of students' parents, and five groups of mediators. By these means more than 60 disputes were settled to the people's advantage.

The source added: Throughout the Badakhshan Provincial Council of the NFF, and with the council's active cooperation, more than 2,000 sick people infected with malaria were treated and 120 persons able to assist were introduced to Sarah Miashat, the tribes and the accident prevention center in order to make use of their assistance.

Thus through the Badakhshan Provincial NFF Council, the sum of 27,720 afghanis from charitable monies was given as assistance to poor persons and the families of the revolution's martyrs.

The source said in conclusion: As a result of the propaganda by the Badakhshan Provincial NFF Council's employees, seven-village councils, farmers' irrigation councils and a land and water reform commission were established throughout the province, in which there are 35 NFF members.

9597

CSO: 4665/104

AFGHANISTAN

COOPERATIVES PROVIDE TRAINING TO FARMERS

Kabul DEHQAN in Dari 16 Jun 85 p 4

[Interview with agricultural cooperatives institute official by DEHQAN; date and place not specified]

[Text] The reporter for DEHQAN arranged an interview with an official of the agricultural cooperatives training institute to inform the readers about the activities and the operations of the agricultural cooperatives institute, which follows.

In response to a question concerning when and for what purpose the agricultural cooperatives training institute was created, he said:

After a stagnation of several years, the agricultural cooperatives training institute was revitalized as a result of the attention of the PDPA and the DRA and began its training activities in 1359 [21 March 1980-20 March 1981], under the auspices of the general administration for agricultural cooperative development.

The main goal of recreating this institute was training and guiding cooperative cadres through training programs and cooperative training conferences, seminars and workshops (courses, and so on). Fortunately, the quality of the work of the cooperatives has improved day by day, training and guiding young technical and ideological cadres in the field of agricultural cooperatives through short-, medium-, and long-term courses.

The source added:

Since its establishment, the agricultural cooperative training institute has set up in the capitals of provinces 110 cooperative courses and training seminars for reeducation and increased knowledge, training workshops and other programs. During this period, a total of 2,126 of the central and regional officials

and technical and ideological employees have graduated in various fields.

In the training programs of the cooperatives operated through this institute, in addition to the officials and employees, the general administration of agricultural cooperative development from the capitals and provinces; the officials and employees of the concerned cooperatives, such as the employees of the farmers cooperatives union of the DRA, the agricultural development bank; the general administration for agricultural production development, Afghan agricultural chemical fertilizers and services; and the general administration of mechanized farming, government farms, the office of improved seeds, export development and the cement company are obliged to participate.

In addition to the above-mentioned establishments, thus far, vast training programs have been carried out for the members of the board of directors and supervisors of agricultural cooperatives and the officials of the office of agriculture and land reform in the provinces of the country, 22 courses have been established for the members and supervisors in the provinces, and 459 farmers who are members of the board of directors and supervisors of the agricultural and consumer cooperatives have benefitted from them. In the same way, three courses for cooperative understanding in the provinces of the country have been established and 68 officials of the office of agriculture and land reforms have been trained and guided in them.

Concerning the subjects taught in the institute, the source said: The subjects in this institute consist of agricultural cooperatives, economic and social issues, including accounting, inspection, and credit issues, procurement, banking, agricultural development, agricultural economy, marketing, planning and evaluation, sociology, general agriculture, audio-visual techniques, management and land policies.

10,000  
CSO: 4665/115



22 August 1985

## AFGHANISTAN

## COOPERATIVES BEST MEANS OF ORGANIZING FARMERS

Kabul DEHQAN in Dari 16 Jun 85 p 5

[Text] As social and economic organizations, cooperatives are the best and most effective means to organize and mobilize farmers, business people and other urban and rural laborers of our country in order for them to be activate and to participate positively in the course of the implementation of the plans and programs of the Sawr revolution, especially in its new evolutionary phase, because by organizing farmers and other workers in the cooperatives, on the one hand, the relationship between farmers and workers and the party and the government are strengthened, providing the grounds for better propagating the goals of the revolution and the growth of the political understanding and awareness of the farmers and other workers. On the other hand, the implementation of the revolutionary programs, particularly in the area of literacy and organizing the members of the cooperatives in the groups defending the revolution, will have effective results.

In addition to the above, the essential goal of the expansion of group and collective work and the development of modern contemporary production machinery to replace old equipment will improve the quality of work in the areas of both agriculture and animal husbandry as well as industries.

The farmers and other laborers of our country must believe in their bright future. Tomorrow's society will be a society devoid of oppression and subjugation, without classes and class oppression, a society of abundance and growth, a society of justice and progress, a society in which all material and spiritual gifts are made possible for all its members. The creation of such a society is based on special scientific principles on the basis of which their foundations must be planned.

The creation of cooperatives and the growth of the cooperative movement in our country will prepare the grounds for founding the new, blossoming society of tomorrow and will gradually acquaint

the farmers of the country with the collective work and production conditions in the society.

It is for this reason that the PDPA and the DRA pay much attention to ensuring the growth of the cooperative movement and organizing farmers and other laborers in various cooperatives.

After the victory of the Sawr revolution, particularly since its new evolutionary phase, the party and government have taken effective and fruitful steps to create cooperatives and expand the cooperative movement. The establishment of the farmers' cooperative union of the DRA on 11 December 1980 and the emphasis in the programs of action of the PDPA concerning the growth and strengthening of the cooperative movement explain the attention of our revolutionary party and government to the cooperatives and the cooperative movement.

As the ratification dated 17 November 1983 of the DRA council of ministers concerning providing 100 million afghanis in the course of 3 years through the Afghanistan Bank to the farmers cooperative union of the DRA and also the ratification dated 25 May 1983 of the political bureau of the central committee of the PDPA and the DRA council of ministers in connection with the expansion of the cooperative movement in the DRA and their later development as well as another series of decisions and ratifications show, the growth of the cooperative movement is one of the major goals of the party and the government.

Now, every kind of condition for the active participation of every member of the country in the construction of the country is possible. The rapid implementation of the goals of the Sawr revolution under the leadership of the PDPA, the beneficial measures of the revolutionary government, and the increasing formation of the people around the national fatherland front of the DRA all provide assurances of a bright future, for which the PDPA struggles for the prosperity of the working people of this country.

10,000  
CSO: 4665/115

AFGHANISTAN

FARMERS PARTICIPATE IN LAND, WATER REFORM

Kabul HEYWAD in Dari 23 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] In order to achieve the most fundamental goals of the Sawr revolution, the revolutionary party and government strongly rely on the unflagging force of the laborers and are determined to carry out the most important duties of the national democratic revolution in the society through their active participation.

After the victory of the new phase of the national and democratic Sawr revolution, serious efforts were made to have the farmers themselves participate in the democratic land and water reforms and resolve the problems stemming from their implementation. Hence, the large masses of the working farmers of our country can play their proper role in the implementation of this most fundamental revolutionary change. For this purpose, in the legal deeds, certain modifications and improvements have been made concerning the democratic land and water reforms and the practical grounds have been prepared for this issue.

As a result of these measures, in various parts of the country, more than 600 farmers' councils of villages and more than 689 committees of farmers using water in various villages of the country have been created and have begun their activities. The main goal of creating these councils and committees is to increase the role of the farmers and their active and direct participation in the implementation of the democratic land and water reforms. Desirable and positive results have been gained from their activities, which are deepening and developing every day. As Babrak Karmal, the secretary general of the central committee of the PDPA and the chairman of the revolutionary council of the DRA, mentioned in one of his communiques, the ratification of the legislative documents and the greater and more active participation of farmers in land and water reforms provided the opportunity to eliminate the certain slowness which had been created in the issue of land reform and for land reforms to continue with the necessary speed. This must be considered another of our valuable successes in advancing the democratic land and water reforms.

AFGHANISTAN

CONSUMER COOPERATIVES PROVIDE FOR PEOPLE'S NEEDS

Kabul ANIS in Dari 30 May 85 p 1

[Text] In the historic province of Jowzjan there are now 9 active consumer cooperatives which are meeting the needs of workers, farmers and toilers there at prices lower than those of the bazaar.

These cooperatives play a valuable role in the expansion of agriculture and the improvement of handicrafts in that province, and have also worked to offer necessary goods and consumer goods to toilers. It is also carrying out enlightenment activities, as follows:

- 1 - the Shabarghan consumer cooperative with a capital of 646,500 afghanis is active with 1,293 members.
- 2 - The Bazmorad Shahid consumer cooperative with a capital of 42,000 afghanis and 84 members.
- 3 - The Mesrabad cooperative with a capital of 240,500 afghanis and 481 members.
- 4 - The Hassanabad consumer cooperative with a capital of 900,000 afghanis and 180 members.
- 5 - The consumer cooperative in Khorram Faza-ye Sancharak is active with a capital of 210,000 afghanis and has 70 members.
- 6 - The Ettefaq cooperative in the Aqchah District was established by 423 workers, farmers and craftsman in that district and has a capital of 325,000 afghanis.
- 7 - The Ettehad cooperative in the Sarpol District of Jowzjan Province with a capital of 90,000 afghanis and a membership of 180 toilers there.

The total capital of these cooperatives is 2,893,500 afghanis and they have a total of 4,048 members.

In order to enlighten the cooperative members and expand their education, they are enrolled in literacy courses and are familiarized with cooperative affairs, and in addition wall newspapers and enlightening posters are put up in special

areas. For example, in order to better inform cooperative members and toilers in the city of Shabarghan, the farmers cooperatives union there publishes a wall newspaper called RAYKUCHI, and a library with 320 volumes of educational and vocational books has been established.

9597

CSO: 4665/104

22 August 1985

## AFGHANISTAN

## NATIONAL FATHERLAND FRONT TO PROMOTE CULTURAL ENHANCEMENT

Kabul ANIS in Dari 3 Jun 85 p 1

[Text] In an interview with an ANIS correspondent, "Abdulkarim, chief of the National Fatherland Front [NFF] Lash Jowin District Council, said: The Lash Jowin District NFF was established on 25 June 1984, and at the present has 250 individual members. In accordance with the fundamental and progressive policy of the party and government, the Lash Jowin NFF Council has succeeded so far in establishing two environmental councils (in the villages of Qal'ah Kariz and Jowin). Furthermore in the same period it held 7 general popular jirgahs and more than 20 secondary jirgahs.

He explained: The Lash Jowin NFF council's share in the creation of a revolution defenders group and youths' voluntary enlistment in the ranks of the armed forces has been very correct and notable.

He added: In order to enlighten the masses and spread literacy and learning, the Lash Jowin NFF council has carried out fruitful work. For example, through meetings and a jirgah and propaganda the people have been informed that the government is the servant of the people and that it is working to ensure the interests of the people and the progress of society, and that it is the enemies of the people and the nation that are creating obstacles to the people's peace and progress by initiating plots, intrigues and lying propaganda. By exposing the crimes of the rebels, the mind of the masses has been prepared to accept realities. Literacy classes have been created in the Lash Jowin District, two literacy courses are now active, and a group of persons deprived of literacy are learning to read there. Furthermore, recently a girls school (in which 17 girls have begun their education) has been opened.

He explained: Voluntary work is another productive action which the NFF Lash Jowin Provincial Council has started. The role of voluntary work is truly outstanding in planting saplings, gathering the harvest, paving of streets and other works benefiting the public.

In conclusion the chief of the NFF Lash Jowin District Council said: This year there has been very little rain. The difficulties of the drought are threatening the people of this region. Therefore the attention of the party and government is focused on this area.



AFGHANISTAN

DISTRICT COUNCIL INTENSIFIES CAMPAIGN AGAINST ILLITERACY

Kabul ANIS in Dari 4 Jun 85 p 1

[Text] A source at the Kabul City Fifth District Council of the National Fatherland Front [NFF] spoke about the desires of residents there and the activities of the first two months of this year to an ANIS correspondent and said: In accordance with the guidance and measures approved by the NFF Central Council and Kabul City Council, specific policies have been enacted in order to improve propaganda affairs in this council.

For example, during the first two months of this year this council's propaganda groups have held three separate meetings in the environmental councils of Afshar, Khoshhal Minah, Mirvis Meydan, Qal'ah Vahed, Qal'ah Vazir and the Qarqheh families in which individual members of the NFF Kabul City Fifth District and a large number of the region's residents participated. In accordance with the plan and the social spirit of those attending, extensive propaganda took place in explaining the lofty goals of the party, the DRA government, the local organ law, the power of the government and administration, the humane goals of the NFF, ensuring security and encouraging youths to join the ranks of the armed forces, and the decisions of the historic Loyah Jirgah.

Concerning the desires and needs of the residents of the NFF Kabul City Fifth District had complaints about the shortage of safe drinking water, their turn for the distribution of electricity, the establishment of an elementary school in upper Afshar, asphaltting of the streets, and paving of the streets and alleys of Afshar and Qal'ah Vahed. These desires of the residents were referred to the relevant authorities, and the authorities concerned also gave a positive reply to some of these desires and took practical steps to solve them.

The source added: The NFF Kabul City Fifth District Council has carried out intensive work in the campaign against illiteracy, this shameful inheritance of the decrepit past eras, and during the first two months of this year was able to enroll 194 residents in literacy classes.

The source said in addition: During the first two months of this year, NFF Kabul City District Councils established 7 commissions to solve family disputes and four peace jirgahs. These commissions were able to resolve 10 family cases and prevent differences and separations among families.

The Source said in conclusion: The NFF Kabul City Fifth District Council plans to establish two environmental councils, one Afghan-Soviet friendship room and a library in order to welcome the fourth anniversary of the NFF's founding.

INDIA

# INDO-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP SEEN IMPROVING

New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 24 May 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Established Relationships"]

[Text] The amount of Soviet loans to India has increased significantly and the plans to increase Indo-Soviet trade are progressing at a turtle's pace. The left wing people who were worried by Rajiv Gandhi's tilt toward the capitalist west appear relaxed now. Just a few days after India's industrial aid pact with the United States, two new economic pacts have been signed with the USSR. The first pact calls for a loan of 11 billion rupees to be used for Indo-Soviet cooperative projects. In other words we will buy equipment for generating electricity and mining coal and iron ore as well as machinery for various factories. In addition this loan will facilitate oil exploration. The second pact will be useful until the end of this century. This pact calls for cooperation between the two countries in the areas of economic, trade and scientific and industrial research. The apparently cool relationship between the two countries warmed up a great deal after these pacts. The warm atmosphere in which these pacts were signed indicates that the Soviet Union could not ignore the results of Rajiv Gandhi's trip to the United States.

These pacts are not limited to economic cooperation. The USSR will have India help it in various developmental projects in the Third World countries. This means that both countries will help each other politically in certain developing countries. India will benefit from the Soviet technical know-how and the USSR will benefit from India's friendly image in these countries. Rajiv Gandhi was right when he said in response to a question by a Western newsman that India has not made any promises to the USSR. The USSR leaders are smart enough not to make unrealistic demands on India. All this is not said openly; only time will tell. However, the person advancing a loan usually has the upper hand.

India has been playing this double role for a long time. It asks and gets help in the technical areas from the USSR and consumer goods from capitalist countries. The first relationship is long-term and the latter is short-term in nature. Our relationship with the USSR has been improving since our first economic pact with it. Our new leaders

despite their fascination with Western capitalism will never be able to change our policy toward the USSR. In order to meet its immediate needs, India will continue to woo the Western capitalist countries, invite them to various international conferences and curse the United States for its policy in Pakistan and the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency.

These loans will be repaid in Indian currency. For some time it has been said that paying this loan in rupees is not beneficial to India. The USSR gives this money to various East European countries which in turn use it to buy goods in India. This causes us to lose valuable foreign currency. These problems will continue as long as our trade with other countries does not balance. The USSR is more interested in selling its goods to India than buying Indian goods. It results in stockpiling of Indian rupees. It is expected that our foreign trade will increase to 42 billion rupees this year.

7997

CSO: 4624/18

22 August 1985

INDIA

**FEARS EXPRESSED OVER MISUSE OF ANTI-TERRORIST BILL'S PROVISIONS**

New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 22 May 85 p 4

[Editorial: "Excuses Are Not Acceptable Anymore"]

[Text] Law Minister Mr Ashok Sen was disappointed as his anti-terrorist bill did not pass with acclaim in the Lok Sabha. Despite his appeals, some opposition party members responded with 'nays.' That was, however, all that the opposition parties could do to oppose the bill. The amendments proposed by Janata party's Madhu Dandvate were adopted by the government as if they were part of the original bill. As expected the House passed the bill after debating it for 7 hours. However, the government did admit some mistakes that hurt it and the country. The law minister was right when he said that the present situation is even worse than the situation during the Sino-Indian war of 1962 and India's wars with Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. At that time we knew who the enemy was. Some members of the Congress Party even said that we have danger both from within and without. Distorting facts just to get this legislation passed was unnecessary as the opposition had already agreed to cooperate with the government. After the 10 and 11 May explosions the whole country has developed a strong feeling against terrorism. Even Sikhs living abroad have raised their voice against it. After such support there was not call to distort the dangers our country is facing. If we believe that there are but only a handful of terrorists then the government should show its self-confidence in dealing with them.

Mr Madhav Reddy of Telgu Desam is correct in saying that this legislation and its amendments were drafted and passed hastily. A legislation giving such important and powerful rights to the government should have been studied more thoroughly. We are not opposing enactment of anti-terrorist legislations or stricter laws to curb it. All we are cautioning against is that we do not give a rope long enough to our law enforcement agencies to hang themselves. When countries face such problems, they tackle it with courage and do not mortgage their future. The law minister said that this legislation is for only 2 years and it cannot be abused during this short period. There is no provision in this law that can curb its abuse. This legislation permits the central government to interfere in provincial issues. Madhu Dandvate,

after all his efforts, could only succeed in giving the provinces a voice in establishing special courts. Dandvate wanted full 'acceptance' by provincial governments on such issues. On demands from the opposition, the government has softened restrictions on the media, but it still has enough powers to make it ineffective. Even with our full faith in our government, we believe that there should be mechanisms for balancing the powers in the government to avoid its becoming despotic. Even Ashok Sen, the law minister, admitted that a government cannot be called democratic with such unusual rights given to it permanently. Had we let our democracy take its own course, we would never have needed such legislation. Madhu Dandvate is right in saying that all the rights we give become useless due to lack of proper use. Now that the government has received extra ordinary rights, it has no excuse left in not eradicating terrorism. Even Home Minister Chavan has said that the police has enough powers to control terrorism. Now every thing depends on the government. How long can the country wait for results? Two years?

7997

CSO: 4624/18

IRAN

RAFSANJANI DISCUSSES CURRENT ISSUES WITH MEDIA IN DAMASCUS

Tehran JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI in Persian 26 Jun 85 p 12

[Text] In a press conference on the last day of his visit to Syria, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani said concerning the future of the goals of Palestine: I consider the main danger in the Palestinian issue to be the compromising spirit of the incompetent children of Palestine. If the Palestinians themselves continue the revolution and struggle, no danger can threaten them.

According to an IRNA report, the speaker of the Majlis, who spoke with a group of international reporters, in response to the correspondent of AL-BA'TH concerning the results of his meeting with Hafez al-Assad, said: I predict that the results of these talks will be fruitful.

Syria is a defensive fortress against the Zionist and imperialist aggressions in the region and in a country which has been invaded by the enemy. We think that at sensitive moments, we must cooperate with Syria.

Concerning the recent changes in the Palestinian issue in Lebanon, he said: Our main effort must be to make armed struggle the method for all Palestinians.

If this is done and those who guide the Palestinian forces believe in armed struggle, these incidental conflicts which occurred in the camps previously will be resolved easily. But if the Palestinians or some of their leaders want to continue the war with the spirit of King Hoseyn or act like Sadat or some of the other weak Arab leaders, the problem of Palestine will remain forever in this undesirable situation.

The speaker of the Majlis said in response to the question of the reporter for the FRENCH NEWS AGENCY concerning Iran's participation in the reconstruction of the Palestinian camps: We will help the Palestinians in any way that we can. Essentially, the slogan of the Islamic revolution was support for the

Palestinian people before all else, and it is still so. On world Qods day, some 10 days ago, about 5 million of the people of Tehran shouted slogans for the liberation of Jerusalem and the Palestinian people while the cities were targeted by the bombs and missiles of the regime of Iraq.

The NBC reporter from the United States asked: Some press sources have reported that you have said the Amal movement is a puppet of the Zionists. Is this true? In response to this question, Hojjat ol-Eslam [Hashemi-Rafsanjani] said: I have never said that the Amal movement is a puppet of Zionists. What I have said is that the issue of the camps was a conspiracy of the Zionists, imperialists and Arab reactionaries with anti-Palestinian objectives. In this issue, it was not only Amal which was involved, but also those who made a trade with the blood of the people of Lebanon and Palestine. Many of these Palestinians got involved in the issue and were trapped. In response to another question by the same reporter concerning the possibility of military interference by the United States in Iran should the negotiations with the hijackers of the American airplane fail, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: I find it unlikely that the United States would be so ignorant. Firstly, the United States must realize that Iran has no connection with the hijacking, and if they use this as an excuse to enter into a conflict with Iran, past experience has shown that the United States has evaluated the danger of such an involvement.

He continued: As long as the United States has servants such as Saddam, there is no reason to get directly involved. Of course, we would prefer that instead of the Iraqi army, which is made up of Muslim people of the Third World, the United States itself was confronting us.

In response to another question by the NBC reporter in connection with the recent hijacking, the speaker of the Majlis said: Since I am here, I have no precise information about the nature of the hijackers. Essentially, if we are informed of such actions, we prevent them to the best of our ability. But, as a matter of course, no matter what the Muslims do in Lebanon, the United States equates it with Islam and the Islamic Republic. The United States would be pleased with us if we would openly condemn the hijackers. If we want to condemn anyone, we must first condemn the United States, Israel and those who are the roots of such injustice.

Another reporter asked about the hijacked Iranian airplane which is now detained in Iraq. Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani answered: Not only in Iraq; several other airplanes were taken to Paris, and once a special court was formed in France to put the Islamic revolution on trial instead of the hijackers.



Imperialist propaganda has constantly introduced such actions as revolutionary and these thieves as revolutionaries. And then they expect us to present the hijackers as dangerous thieves and terrorists when their airplanes are hijacked.

In the same connection, in response to the reporter for the FRENCH NEWS AGENCY, he said: On the whole, we oppose acts which terrorize and threaten innocent people. But we have always said that the oppressed should not be condemned. The issue of hijacking must not be separated from other issues, such as the explosion in the Muslim mosque in Lebanon, the disruption of the security of Lebanon, or the events in Tripoli, Lebanon, which witnessed many explosions.

The main source of terrorism is in Paris and Washington and the main string of the terrorists is controlled in the Elysees Palace and the White House.

Concerning the agreements between Iran and Libya, in response to the reporter of the FRENCH NEWS AGENCY, the speaker of the Majlis said: We have reached agreements on many of the important issues related to ourselves and we have established coordination. These include the imposed war of Iraq on Iran, the future of Iraq after our victory and the fall of Saddam, the continuation of the armed struggle of the Palestinians against Israel, the issue of southern Lebanon, issues regarding the oppressed people of Africa who have been invaded by the white racists, and efforts to strengthen the steadfastness front against the reactionary centers of Baghdad, Amman and Cairo, whose goal is to strengthen the domination of the United States and to continue the Camp David accords.

Radio Message of the Speaker of the Majlis to the Oppressed People of Lebanon

On the final day of his visit to Syria, in a radio message broadcast from the VOICE OF THE OPPRESSED, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Majlis, asked the people of Lebanon to avoid the conspiracies designed to escalate the Shi'ite-Sunni conflicts and aim their arms at the enemy.

According to an IRNA report, the details of the message of the speaker of the Majlis are as follows:

In the name of God the compassionate and the merciful.

I am very happy to have this opportunity to be able to speak to you, the oppressed and suffering people of Lebanon. Firstly, I bring you the very warm greetings of the beloved imam, who has always been extremely interested in the people of this area. Also, I would like to announce the full support of the people of

our country for you. With the leadership of the grand leader, Imam Khomeyni, the Iranian nation has been ever-present on all the scenes to achieve the goals of the people of Palestine and Lebanon. I find it necessary to point out the magnificent ceremonies which were held some time ago during the blessed month of Ramazan in Iran by a population of nearly 30 million people. Facing the bullets, bombs and missiles of Iraq, the people of Tehran and the border towns of Iran cried out, Death to Israel and death to the United States, and supported your Islamic and anti-Zionist movement.

I must take this opportunity to mention certain points to be taken into consideration in your actions. Since all the ways are closed to it as a result of your brave resistance, the imperialist, Zionist enemy today tries to create internal conflicts, in other words, between the Shi'ites and Sunnis. This conspiracy, which has frequently been carried out by the oppressors throughout history and has always been neutralized by the awareness of Muslims, will not be fruitful for them this time either and must be eliminated through your awareness.

The unity of Shi'ites and Sunnis today is one of the principles that can protect us against the attacks of the enemies and can safeguard the continuation of our path. Your resistance has shown that the enemy is helpless.

This was proven when your children drove France, Italy, England, and the United States out of your country by carrying explosives to the columns of the Zionist and U.S. enemies. However, there is always a group of seekers of earthly comforts among your ranks who call for compromise, and after all the disappointment that you created for the enemies, through their compromises, they rekindled hope for the enemies. You must always be armed. It would be unfortunate for you to set your weapons aside. Who would then take up arms against the Zionist and American enemies? You must be the center of the fight against Israel and Zionism and be assured of our financial help. Even though today we are engaged in a war imposed upon us by the United States through Saddam Takiriti, we will not hesitate to give aid, and certainly, after this imposed war and the fall of Saddam, the issues of Palestine and Lebanon and the destruction and elimination of occupying Zionism will be at the top of our concerns. Of course, weapons must be in the hands of the zealous, not in the hands of the compromisers. Weapons must be in the hands of those who fight for Islam and on the path of Islam against the Zionists, not for personal intentions and governing even over one small plot of land. This movement must be coupled with the idea that no harm should come to the independence of Lebanon. While protecting the independence of Lebanon, arms in the hands of faithful, zealous people must be aimed at criminal Israel. We

hope that we will also be able to have good Shi'ites for your valuable movement.

I ask God to grant you victory over the Zionist enemy and to liberate us from the evil of Saddam Takiriti in order that we may be able to fight the enemies of Islam, the Zionists, at your side.

#### Reflections on Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani's Visit to Libya

The Beirut newspapers of the day before yesterday published front page reports concerning the visit of Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani and his accompanying delegation to Libya. According to a report by the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT from Beirut, these newspapers, quoting international news agencies and the LIBYAN NEWS AGENCY, have reported the results of the negotiations of the [Libyan leader] with Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani. The headlines of these reports were devoted to the decision of Libya and the Islamic Republic of Iran to create a Jerusalem army and a joint political and military committee.

#### Consequences of Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani's Visit to Syria

Before leaving Damascus Airport, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani expressed his pleasure in his visit and stressed that this visit was very successful and his meeting with Hafez al-Assad was very fruitful, which is the reason for the strength of the relations between the two countries. According to a report by the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT from Beirut quoting the SYRIAN NEWS AGENCY, during this visit, in addition to meeting with the Syrian government officials, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani met with Sheykh Ahmad Kaftar, the mufti of the Sunni society in Syria, Sheykh Sa'id Sha'ban, 'Allameh Seyyed Mohammad Hoseyn Fazlollah, Sheykh 'Abd al-Amir Qablan, the Ja'fari mufti of Lebanon, and a delegation from the Amal movement in Damascus. According to this report, by issuing a communique which was published in yesterday's newspapers in Beirut, the Amal movement announced that in the meeting of the Amal delegation with Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani, which took place with Sheykh 'Abd al-Amir Qablan, both sides emphasized the necessity of ending the war in the camps and demanded the prevention of the disuniting conspiracies, because individuals who have been harmed by the victory of the Islamic resistance movement in southern Lebanon and now circulate in the triangle of Saddam, Mobarak, and Hoseyn, including 'Arafat, are trying to engage the Palestinians in secondary issues with the Lebanese brothers. This communique adds: The delegation of the Amal movement has praised the active efforts of the Islamic Republic of Iran to prevent the creation of problems among the Muslims of Lebanon and their Palestinian brothers.

IRAN

RAFSANJANI ON TRIP TO CHINA, ARMS PURCHASE, FOREIGN POLICY

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 29 Jun 85 p 4

[Text] Peking—ETTELA'AT Correspondent—This morning after meeting with Mr. Xiaoping, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani took part in a press conference attended by a large number of correspondents, reporters, and photographers from Iran and the rest of the world. He answered their questions concerning the results of his trip to China and the chief political issues of the world and Iran, including the imposed war, the procurement of arms needed by Iran for the war, conditions for ending the war, points of agreement with Chinese officials, the episode of the taking of the American spy hostages in Iran, how to remove Iran's antipathy for America, recent events in Lebanon, the status of Muslims and other minorities in China, and the issues which will be discussed concerning Japan. During this meeting, the Majlis speaker stressed:

In talks with Chinese officials, agreement was reached on more than 90 percent of the issues. For example, we feel close to the Chinese on all aspects of international issues, dealings with the superpowers, the Third World and bi-lateral technical, scientific, and cultural relations. We think the Chinese leaders are fully satisfied with the talks, and they called them successful.

The Majlis Speaker was asked if the matter of the Iran-Iraq war was discussed in the talks with the Chinese officials. He noted: We have stated our views to the Chinese leaders. We have been invaded in this war and we are oppressed. A superficial cease fire will not solve the area's problems; we have concluded that the war must be resolved at its root.

In this press conference, Mr Rafsanjani stressed Iran's firm conditions for ending the war, including punishment of the aggressor. He said: It is the policy of the great powers to keep the third world in a state of chaos and war, and it is our policy to keep the region peaceful by dealing with fundamental issues.

In answering another question he noted that it is the policy of the superpowers to create a regional war and maintain a state of crisis, and the Chinese are in agreement with us on this, although they did not specifically discuss Iraq.

Arms Sales

Mr Rafsanjani was also asked if there are plans for China to sell arms to Iran. He answered: We do not expect the Chinese to sell arms to us. We have stood on our own feet, we rely on ourselves for long-term defense, and we will not become dependent.

Concerning his familiarity with China, the Majlis speaker said: We already knew the Chinese well. We studied China after the revolution, and we see China as truly independent with no aims for domination. Like us, China has a policy of protecting the oppressed and is opposed to domination by the superpowers.

Mr Hashemi Rafsanjani, observing that China's recent freedom from violence and lifelessness has diminished the Marxist environment, noted: We have found good companionship and cooperation with China, and they are useful to us in technical and scientific areas.

Another correspondent asked Mr Hashemi whether this trip would change his view of the Soviet Union. He noted: Such changes will not be made in policies toward countries.

#### Iran's Relations with the Soviet Union

Concerning Iran's relations with the Soviet Union, Mr Hashemi also said: Of course we have our differences. We will not be satisfied to have the Soviets remain in Afghanistan, and we also have differences on the sale of arms to Iraq.

The speaker of the Majlis laid special stress on this area: The Islamic Republic of Iran's policy with regard to other countries is based on chosen intellectual principles, and we will not disrupt our principles with trivial developments.

Another correspondent asked about the role of the Chinese in ending the war. In answer, the speaker of the Majlis stressed: We will not accept a cease fire and we have no negotiable conditions.

#### Iran's Position on the Taking of American Hostages

Mr Hashemi also discussed the taking of American hostages in Lebanon and Iran's position on this. He said: We have stated repeatedly that we are against terrorist acts. The speaker of the Majlis then compared the taking of American spies as hostages in Tehran and the recent episode in Lebanon. He said: The situation of the American spies in Tehran was different. We are opposed to hijacking aircraft, disturbing people on the airlines, and making them insecure. We return to the root of the matter, and ask, why are there Lebanese imprisoned in Israel? Why did Israel invade Lebanon? Why did the Americans and foreign forces go to Lebanon, and why do the Americans protect Israel? These things are the root of this episode. If we condemn both at the same time, we have done something fundamental.

The Majlis speaker added: The Americans and the other superpowers are making a mistake to put propaganda pressure on the oppressed of history. Most of the individual and minor assassinations are caused by acts of oppression, and there is no shelter in the world for the oppressed. There is no court to which they may turn. It is therefore better that we not justify acts of aggression, and bring pressure on the aggressors in order to uproot terrorism.

#### Resolving Antipathy toward America

As the press conference continued, a NEW YORK TIMES correspondent asked: Since we have had few opportunities to meet with Iranian leaders, what are the views of His Holiness on the resolution of the antipathy between Iran and America? Will America remain the Great Satan forever?

Mr Hashemi answered: This is up to the Americans. We have not mistreated America, but America greatly mistreated us in the time of the shah and really hurt our people. After the revolution the enmity of the Americans increased. They were responsible for conditions under the shah, and the American embassy was the center of the plot against our country. They have not given back all our wealth that is in America and concentrated in the hands of royal families. They have not acted on their contracts, and they persuaded Iraq to go to war with us.

Mr Hashemi then stressed: We do not know if our relations with America will be bad forever, but America must take the first step and prepare the way, and of course this task will take a long time.

#### Resolving the Hostage Issue in Lebanon

A correspondent from AUSTRALIAN TELEVISION asked the Majlis speaker how the problem of the American hostages in Lebanon can be resolved. He answered: We do not know the hostage-takers, who they are or to what extent they are prepared to compromise with another party. We think wise individuals must be found to accomplish this task. There is no specific side, there is no specific official in Lebanon. With all the questions we asked in Syria, we realized that the Syrian leaders were also unable to find a solution. Of course this is as of two or three days ago. Something must be done to reduce these incidents in the future (I mean something fundamental must be done).

#### The Status of Muslims in China

Hojjat ol-Eslam va-ol-Moslemin Rafsanjani was then asked by a BBC correspondent regarding the status of Muslims in China. He answered: In China the status of Muslims is much better than that of the other minorities and is improving. During the Cultural Revolution there was great pressure on Muslims and minorities. The air has now cleared somewhat, however, and the Muslims were also somewhat satisfied.

#### Rumor of Arms Purchases from China

The BBC correspondent asked the Majlis speaker another question about the rumor of arms purchases from China. He answered: Yes, there was a lot of international commotion, but this was political and propaganda pressure, a trick by news imperialism designed to frighten China. Due to our defense system, we cannot let ourselves be dependent on Chinese arms, and, as we have said, we meet our arms needs elsewhere.

#### Rumors of Illness

As the conference continued, the VOICE OF AMERICA correspondent asked about the rumor of Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani's illness in China. The Majlis speaker answered: This was one of the mischievous acts of the little satans. Some of our enemies want to disturb our friends, even if only a few hours, and even if it hurts their credibility.

Mr Hashemi then laughed: I am one of the healthiest statesmen in the world.

### Topics of Discussion in Japan

In answer to a question from Japan's KYOTO magazine, the Majlis speaker said: With regard to the issues that will be discussed in Japan, as an advanced industrial country Japan can fill the industrial gaps resulting from our severed relations with America and Europe. Furthermore, since it is an Eastern country with no history of aggression and imperialism, it has good credibility in our country.

In conclusion, in response to a question from a Yugoslavian correspondent, the speaker of the Majlis described the trip as successful and said: I am completely satisfied.

ETTELA'AT's China correspondent reports that this press conference was attended by correspondents from China, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL, AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, the DAILY TELEGRAPH, the NEW YORK TIMES, and a number of other correspondents.

9310

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IRAN

**MESHKINI: EXPERTISE WITHOUT PIETY HARMFUL IN ISLAMIC SOCIETY**

Tehran BURS in Persian 5 May 85 p 8

[Text] On the eve of the unique birth of the standard-bearer of the world of Shi'ism, the Shadow of God His Holiness the Imam of the Age (May God Hasten His Joyful Advent), a group of university students, members of the mobilization of the oppressed, educational officials from various parts of the country, representative workers from Amol, and staff members from the Iraqi camps in Qom met with Ayatollah Meshkini, Friday Imam of Qom. The Islamic Republic News Agency reports that Ayatollah Meshkini congratulated the oppressed and the Muslims of the world on the joyous birth of Mehdi and welcomed the audience. He praised the standing of the great scholar and philosopher Martyr Morteza Motahhari. He discussed the gathering of state-supporting clergymen in Baghdad and explained Saddam's goal in this. He said: Saddam has now been defeated on the political and military fronts and is falling from power. In order to save himself, he has summoned clergymen affiliated with reactionary heads of state to assemble in Baghdad in order to prevent his collapse, and they are also adopting Saddam's call for peace. I say to the brave nation of Iran that if you want the blood of the martyrs and your righteous demands to be lost, make peace. Those who are calling for peace are either doing so out of self-interest or ignorance, or they are supporters of Israel. The surprising thing to us is that today the leaders of international organizations, although they are able to tell right from wrong, lack the courage to condemn an oppressor. Continuing his remarks, he said that expertise without piety is harmful in Islamic society. He said: Of course we need expertise today in the universities and industrial centers, but if we are to have expertise in our universities and industrial centers after the revolution, but it is not to be pious or religious, we have no need of such expertise without the Koran, religion, and piety. We want partisans of God, people who are committed to Islam. If we want expertise without piety, Satan is the most expert of all. In conclusion he stressed the importance of the active presence of the people for the blessed ceremonies of the month of Ramazan.

9310

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IRAN

# KARRUBI: MUSLIMS MUST UNITE TO DEFEAT ZIONISM

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGIN in Persian 7 May 85 p 3

[Text] Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi, representative of the Imam and supervisor of the Martyr's Foundation, went to Lebanon Saturday at the head of a delegation from our country's Foreign Ministry and the Majlis. Sunday morning, while visiting various areas in southern Lebanon liberated from occupation by the Zionist regime, he met and spoke with a group of clergymen, religious scholars, and representatives of Muslim groups in southern Lebanon.

The ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY reports that these meetings were attended by the charges d'affaires and employees of the Islamic Republic of Iran's embassies in Beirut and Damascus. As he inspected evidence of crimes by the Zionist regime in the destruction of Muslim homes and the Ansar detention center, Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi went to the town of Jabshit, where he first read the opening verse of the Koran over the grave of Martyr Sheikh Ragheb Harb and then visited his family and relatives.

The supervisor of the Martyr's Foundation visited the orphanage of Her Holiness Zainab (Peace Be Upon Her) in this city. During the visit the Islamic Republic of Iran's delegation was welcomed with revolutionary songs and prayers for the Imam's longevity by the children and orphans of the institution.

The Imam's representative and his delegation then visited Sheikh Jalal al-Din, Mufti of Sidon. This meeting was attended by a number of Shi'ite and Sunni clergymen, the representative of the people of Sidon in the Lebanese Majlis, and representatives of the Islamic resistance groups of southern Lebanon. Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi stressed the Islamic republic's policy based on the necessity for Muslim unity and solidarity. He said: Muslims need unity for victory over Zionism and the Great Satan America. To achieve victory with the guidance of Emam Khomeyni and Ayatollah Montazeri, officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran used all of their resources in this area, but we believe that with the presence of the clergy at the fronts, this unity is a possibility in the world of Islam.

Continuing his remarks, the Imam's representative cited valuable examples of this unity in Islamic Iran. He said: We now have this unity in our society.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi also congratulated the Muslims of Lebanon for their victory over the Zionists. He said: Our nation was just as happy with the liberation of Sidon as it was with the liberation of Khorramshahr.

Sidon's Mufti affirmed the righteous positions of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the creation of unity among Muslims and praised the Imam of the nation. He said: The Islamic revolution, which was launched with the mission of the Prophet of Islam and spread through the Muslim world, is a joy to all Muslims. He affirmed the principle of Islamic unity and said: We do not believe we can achieve victory without your spiritual aid.

He praised the Islamic Republic of Iran's spiritual aid to the Muslims of Lebanon, and stressed: Our brothers in Iran have always helped us; we consider Lebanon your home and Iran our home.

During this meeting, Sheikh Salah Arghadan, one of the clerical political officials in the Islamic Society of the south, also stressed the necessity for unity among Shiites and Sunnis in the fight against Zionism and imperialism. He said: Imperialism's tricks to sow discord among Muslims are no longer effective, and our blood and our martyrs, who are both Shi'ite and Sunni, are the best evidence of this. He added: We believe that Israel will not be destroyed until we act on the Koran. The same report says that Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi also visited Lebanon's Mufti on Saturday and discussed practical ways to achieve Islamic unity and thwart the plots of the common enemy.

#### **Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi's Meetings with Lebanese Martyr's Families**

On Sunday, Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi went to the liberated areas of Southern Lebanon to inspect them.

Saturday afternoon at the Prophet's Mosque in southern Beirut Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi visited families of Lebanese martyrs, who are receiving aid from Martyr's Foundation in Lebanon. In a meeting with a delegation of Muslim clergymen, he studied the status of Lebanese Muslims and stressed the necessity for protecting the achievements of the struggles in southern Lebanon.

On the basis of this report, Saturday night the supervisor of the Martyr's Foundation met with Sheikh Hasan Khaled, Mufti of the Lebanese Sunni community, at the town of 'Armun in the hills of southern Beirut, and discussed with him the political, economic, and social circumstances of Lebanese Muslims. At this meeting both parties condemned any effort to sow discord among Muslims and stressed the necessity of unity and support for the Islamic resistance movement in order to raise the level of resistance by oppressed Muslims.

At the conclusion of this meeting, Sheikh Hasan Khaled, Mufti of the Lebanese Sunni community, thanked Hojjat ol-Eslam Karrubi and expressed the hope that these meetings would be repeated from time to time.

#### **Announcement of the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran**

On the joyous occasion of the 15th of Sha'ban [6 May 1985], the auspicious birthday of His Holiness the Imam of the Age (May God Hasten His Joyous Advent), which has been declared World Oppressed People's Day through the efforts of Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri, the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Beirut issued a proclamation congratulating the Muslims of Lebanon on this great day in the history of Islam.

This proclamation discussed the sufferings of the oppressed in America and Africa and the problems of Muslims in various parts of the world. It said: The designation of the 15th of Sha'ban as Oppressed People's Day bespeaks our perpetual crusade at the fronts of the Truth against the Vain until the appearance of Imam Mehdi (May God Hasten His Joyful Advent) and the formation of a government of the oppressed on earth.

The proclamation from the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran lauded the recent attainments by the Muslims of southern Lebanon. Addressing Muslims and oppressed people, it stressed that the primary enemy of the nations of the region is America, which has engaged in hostilities against Muslims either directly or through Israel. World Oppressed People's Day must therefore be a day of Muslim solidarity in the face of imperialist and Zionist plots. For the same occasion, plans have been made by Lebanon's Muslim groups and movements to hold a number of lectures and ideological and political meetings in various parts of the country.

9310

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22 August 1985

## IRAN

## SERVICES OF RECONSTRUCTION CRUSADE DETAILED

Tehran BURS in Persian 19 Jun 85 p 8

[Text] Through the efforts of Zanjan reconstruction crusade workers, last year more than 10,242 families in 74 villages in the municipalities of Zanjan, Abhar, and Khodabandeh were supplied with electrical power, drinking water, and hygiene last year. This revolutionary group also completed the construction and repair of 14 public bathhouses, 57 kilometers of rural roads, 110 bridges, 19 buildings of various kinds, seven dikes and water diversion dams, 3,858 meters of canals and artificial rivers, 20 tick baths and watering troughs, and equipped 25 deep and semi-deep wells and placed them in the service of villagers. Brother Jalil-Khani, a member of the Zanjan reconstruction crusade supervisory council, gave an interview to a correspondent from the ISLAMIC REPUBLIC NEWS AGENCY on the eve of Reconstruction Crusade Week. While announcing the above items, he described other activities by this group. Citing the most important activities of the reconstruction crusade's agricultural, livestock, health care, cultural, and technical committees, he mentioned the procurement and distribution of 277 tractors and combines, 584 pump motors, 3,491 parts for agricultural machinery, 13 tons of chemical fertilizer, 2,751 kilograms of seed, 22,280 scythes, 239 tons of feed and vaccine, more than 123,000 head of livestock and poultry, the formation of 307 Islamic councils in the villages, the extraction of 70,612 cubic meters of sand and gravel, the blasting of 7,344 tons of gypsum, 7,721 tons of table salt and 2,969 tons of feldspar from mines in its jurisdiction, the repair and assembly of 70 grain sterilizing machines, the production of 1,760,701 meters of polyethylene pipe, the sterilization of the drinking water in 253 villages, the organization of 1,008 talks and the showing of 46 films.

During the interview he also discussed activities by reconstruction crusade workers at the fronts in the battle of light against darkness. He said: Last year the tireless workers in this organization constructed 45 kilometers of roads, 52 bridges, 76 bunkers, and 5,700 meters of earthworks at the fronts. They also constructed 69 tankers for water and fuel, 180 prefabricated bunkers, 609 desert toilets, and 136 doors and windows, repaired 2,367 light and heavy machines, distributed 151,225 doses of medicine at bases, held 363 talks, organized three exhibitions, established two prayer and guidance stations, and gave away 2,802 books and Korans. In conclusion, brother Jalil-Khani discussed the activities of the Zanjan reconstruction crusade's war areas support staff. He said: Last year this staff sent to the fronts 195 trucks as gifts from the martyr-nurturing nation of Zanjan, valued at 199,680,062 rials, 12 automobiles, various items of machinery, 15 motorcycles, and 17 hydroelectric motors valued at 20 million rials; 500 thousand rials in cash, 1.25 kilograms of gold, and 2 kilograms of gold were given to the support staff by the ever-present residents of Zanjan and its affiliated villages.

9310

CSO: 4640/659

PAKISTAN

# PAKISTAN'S POSITION IN NEW ERA OF INDIAN-U.S. RELATIONS NOTED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 24 Jun 85 p 3

[Nafees Siddiqi column "Writing on the Wall": "New Era of India-U.S. Relations"]

[Excerpts] Now let us come to the most significant incident of last week, which is Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's U.S. tour. So far, two things have been stressed more in the comments of fellow Pakistanis that have come to the forefront. They are India's hostility toward Pakistan and the change in its foreign policy because of Rajiv Gandhi. Both these facts, although true, fail to indicate the true significance of this tour. As far as India's enmity toward Pakistan is concerned, this should not be perceived in traditional terms. Today's India does not oppose Pakistan in order to put it out of existence. The main target of its opposition is those policies that are affecting this region and which according to India are not in the interest of the region. It would be wrong, however, to view this opposition to policies as being a traditional act of hostility toward Pakistan. Now, neither Sardar Patel nor his views exist any more. Those friends who have interpreted Rajiv Gandhi's tour in this simple manner should be perplexed to learn that America, the only guarantor of our safety, was not only prepared to provide India with every type of sophisticated arms, but even offered all those concessions that we are receiving as an ally, and in much greater volume. India, however, assuming the style of an independent nation, showed no impatience. It told the United States clearly that, "You should review your situation first." The United States will certainly have to do that. The second thing that is more prevalent here is the perception of change in Indian policy because of Rajiv Gandhi. This, too, is a simplistic idea. In fact, during the rule of the Janta government, the United States had given indications of new possibilities. After regaining power in 1980, therefore, Mrs Gandhi, like any good nationalist leader, after analyzing these suggestions, decided to try them out in the interest of India. This process, therefore, was initiated, and consequently, in 1982, Mrs Gandhi went on a tour of the United States. The title that she suggested for this tour was "The beginning of the process of mutual understanding", and in this connection she also proposed a "Festival of India." Rajiv Gandhi's recent tour of America was a link of this same chain; it is a part of that very process initiated in 1980 by his mother. Those people who regard this tour as a prelude to any basic change in Indian or American policies, or as a failure right from the start, fail to grasp that complex tide of history that is advancing in this sophisticated age.

The mourning period of 1970 began with the honeymoon of China and America. The Vietnam war had burdened the American economy, and politically, the United States was disgraced in the world. To overcome these consequences, the United States made two vital decisions. One was to exclude itself from the Vietnam war and the other was to take care of its economy. You might remember that even then, in order for it to achieve the second objective, the United States at first looked to India. The Nixon doctrine came into effect at that time, according to which India was accepted as a regional power for the first time and its "legitimate interests" in that region were recognized. As a reward, the United States had placed the cake of Bangladesh in the oven, so that it could be presented to India. At that time, also, Mrs Gandhi refused to accept that cake under United States conditions. Later on, however, the United States could not prevent India from taking this reward forcefully. The initiation of relations with China was undertaken as a second move. This honeymoon, however, was not much of a success. First, China refused to be a "card" and adopt the stance of a faithful agent in America's anti-Soviet activity. Second, the Chinese economy is not capable of digesting American technology, so that it refused to open its market to consumer goods. In other words, China became neither a meaningless adjunct of the United States in the global conflict, nor did it prove to be a profitable market. But this is merely one factor, and it did not determine the new turning-point in Indian-U.S. relations. Even if the consequences of U.S.-Chinese relations had been otherwise, the historic moment of improvement in America's relations with India had nonetheless arrived.

The extent of direct American interests in Asia is now reaching its limit. By the end of the current century, the United States, with the exception of some oil, will need nothing from Asia. The imperialist spectacle of the next century will reach its zenith in Africa. Its indifference toward Asia does not mean that the United States will desert it after making it a choice morsel for the Soviet Union. The United States, out of strategic necessity, will definitely make arrangements here to insure that the Soviet Union does not gain dominance over the noncommunist areas of Asia. These arrangements could be similar to those undertaken in Europe. Combing the resources of local governments with U.S. cooperation, barriers can be erected before the Soviet Union so that its system cannot penetrate societies on the other side of the barriers. If these societies allied with America subsequently become established on capitalist foundations, not only will they resist the Soviet system, but when the need arises they can enjoy the benefits of doing business with it. The examples of France and Germany are before us. Despite their ties to NATO it is significant that by conducting business with the Soviet Union they benefited as much as neutral India did from the Soviet Union in the area of defense. This, too, is an interesting fact--that from the standpoint of defense, although it has a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union, India's greatest business partner is the United States, West Germany, a member of NATO, does extensive business with the Soviet Union. In today's world, military equipment or business relations do not bind political policy. We are the only ones wearing these shackles. India, a buyer of Soviet arms, is a part of the capitalist bloc. The NATO countries, with U.S. arms and forces, are big business partners of the Soviet bloc.



Well, I was describing that historic moment that has come about regarding Indian-U.S. relations. Up to the end of the current century, the United States wants to take steps that in the 21st century, when it is saying good-bye to Asia, will leave behind such solid arrangements that the Soviet system will not be able to dominate this region. Japan is being prepared for such responsibilities in Eastern Asia. India is capable of playing this role for South-west Asia. In the Middle East, an effort will be made to accomplish this task through Egypt and Israel. Unfortunately, there is no single country in this entire region that could lay the foundations of a strong capitalistic society. India has now established a strong industrial foundation. It has already prepared a massive administrative sector. The roots of its middle class have spread and also grown deeper. It has strengthened its state institutions. Its political system has proved its ability to withstand shocks. By conducting this experiment for the first time in the world, this system has demonstrated that despite all of the contradictions of social classes and the shortcomings of progressive society, it can not only provide freedom of the press and law, but its ruling sectors are also capable of openly competing with the Communist Party. They are not only confident that they can allow the Communists to gain victory in elections to form the government, but they are also bold enough to regain votes in the regions that are under the authority of these governments. Such an ability to develop a capitalistic society amazes the Americans. It was the wisdom and skill of the bourgeois leadership of India that carried out this national analysis, under India's particular circumstances and in the light of national situations and demands, with complete freedom. If the Indian leadership, by accepting the advice of the American hypocrites, had adopted the path of competing with communism, many Communist states would have been established in the subcontinent by now. I am not talking about personal theories. I am describing historical events. If India and America had become allies in the beginning, as a reaction Pakistan would have definitely have turned the Soviet bloc. In this way, by now, not only would a strong Soviet-minded sector have been established in Pakistan, but many regions of India itself, under the pressure of armed Communist movements, would have established independent geographical units, and the subcontinent would present the same picture that exists in Indochina. It is the result of the intelligence and sagacity of this bourgeois Indian leadership that the process of change in the subcontinent is progressing gradually, and that so far this region is safe from revolutionary change, which demands the sacrifice of human blood in such large quantities. Just as after blindly opposing China for 20 to 22 years the United States had to accept the fact that despite being communist it is a free and independent country, and that it cannot become a meaningless adjunct of the Soviet Union's global policy, similarly, now after pursuing negative methods for the last 38 years, the United States has been compelled to acknowledge that India is not only an independent country but from the standpoint of social and political ideologies a Soviet rival and has effectively suppressed communist movements in its region. The United States itself has been incapable of demonstrating this skill in its own hemisphere. (The armed revolutionary movement of Bengal was crushed after Bangladesh was founded, and the marvelous thing is that it happened under the patronage of the Soviet Union.)

It seems that the Reagan administration, comprehending the existing reality, has determined India's role in future. The question of providing Pakistan with arms or the issue of its buying arms from the United States are trivial matters. India is concerned about one thing only--that Pakistan might build a nuclear bomb. If this happens, India will face difficulties in performing its role in this region. This is in no way a contradictory matter. The United States, too, realizes that after all India has to take responsibility for checking Soviet advances not only in the subcontinent but in the surrounding area as well. The United States has now relinquished the philosophy of Dulles. The Soviet system can be condemned even after the acquisition of Soviet arms, and India's political role will be acceptable to the Soviet Union as well. It would not want the United States, by establishing military bases in the region, to carry out a campaign of aggression through its various stooges. Rajiv's recent tour aside, it is America's historic requisite now that it not only strengthen the Indian bourgeoisie by providing it with technology and create broad marketing capabilities for it, but that from a political point of view it create a power that can condemn communist movements and the Soviet advancement. It is essential to prepare India for this role, and the United States will do just that. What remains now is the policy of the front-line states. Those who outlined it will have to ponder where the policy and the states will go when there is no front. We are all aware of the situation of the other front-line states. Laos and Cambodia were the front-line states in Indochina. The front-line states in the Middle East are Jordan, Syria, Lebanon and Egypt, while those in Africa are Angola and Mozambique. What did they all get? To bring to a conclusion the far-reaching consequences of the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the United States has initiated a new era in its relationship with India. We are vital as long as the expression of Indian-U.S. relations does not show up in the battlefield. After that, we will be instructed to defer to New Delhi rather than Washington. Perhaps that has already happened.

9779

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PAKISTAN

PUNJAB ATTITUDE IN WATER DISPUTE WITH SIND CRITICIZED

Karachi AMN in Urdu 12 Jun 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] Sind Chief Minister Syed Ghaus Ali Shah said that what happened in the Punjab Assembly over the waters issue is regrettable. He said his stand from the beginning has been that this is a national issue and the water shortage is due to the fact that this year snows did not melt in time. But what transpired in the Punjab Assembly on this issue violates parliamentary tradition. He cautioned members of the Sind Assembly not to take cheap shots at members of the Punjab Assembly. He was speaking in response to privilege motions introduced by three members of the assembly on the issue of the division of waters. In these, prominent members charged that the Chashma Jehlum Link Canal was opened without consulting the Sind chief minister and that the statement issued by Punjab chief minister against the Sind chief minister hurt the stature of the Sind chief minister and members of the house. Chief Minister Syed Ghaus Ali Shah said he would appeal to the Punjab chief minister not to indulge in cheap talk and not to treat Sind as though Sind and Punjab were two separate countries; we are not two countries. He said differences do emerge between provinces just as differences occur between brothers, but the appropriate way to settle these differences is to have a mediator and to accept whatever his decision is. To settle the Sind-Punjab waters issue, it would have been better to have used the federal government or some other province as a mediator and to let the mediator decide which party committed excesses. He said that if famine or some other calamity were to strike any part of Pakistan, it would be a famine and a calamity for all of Pakistanis and all of us would have to try to combat it. "But I am sorry to say that the attitude Punjab adopted toward the issue of the water shortage in Sind was not right in any way", he said. He told members of the Assembly that when you tell the truth you will be showered not with flowers but with stones. But we told the truth in order to tell the people of Punjab what treatment had been meted out to Sind. A big province deprived a smaller province of water. He also referred to the agreement on sharing of waters that had been signed during the previous regime by Mr Muntaz Bhutto on behalf of Sind, for Punjab by its chief minister and by Abdul Hafiz Pirzada on behalf of the central government. In this it was expressly stated that the Chashma Jehlum Canal would not be opened without first consulting the Sind chief minister. But I have to say with regret that we were not consulted, and the canal was opened at a time when the water level in Tarbela had just risen to point that was sufficient to meet the needs of Sind. Had this canal been opened a day or two later, the situation would have been better. He said we

never want Punjab to suffer; this big province of Pakistan is very dear to us. But if a province is adamant about its wrong stand, then we too will not compromise on principles. It is incorrect to say that we do not abide by any agreement. If an agreement is reached between two provincial governments then the succeeding governments must honor it. If a province objects to any provision of the agreement, it can present its views to the federal government. If a big province adopts the position that it will resign or go on a hunger strike, that in my opinion amounts to pressure tactics. He appealed to members of the Sind Provincial Assembly, if such a situation ever recurs, not to adopt a position like that of Punjab, because it is an improper stand. Instead, both within the assembly and outside, they should try to bring the situation under control. We are trying to find out on whose orders the federal government opened the Chashma Jehlum Canal. As soon as we get this information, we will make it public. I have come to realize that this canal was opened on orders from Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo. As soon as I have the text of this order, I will let the house know. We will continue our efforts until it is finally settled that Punjab does not have the right to open the Chashma Jehlum Canal. Then people will know how, with all the water available, hundreds of thousands of acres of land were made barren. He said this is not a confrontation on the part of Sind but merely a matter of principle. If elected representatives exert this kind of pressure, it is not right. It should not be done. If anyone believes that he has this right, then a mediator should be chosen and the issue settled. Let there be no doubt about the bigness of our heart. Here we have received with open arms people from all parts of the country. We have espoused the interests of people from all provinces who live here because they are also Pakistanis. Whoever came to Sind loved it. This is the heart and soul of Pakistan. To say such things about people of this province is regrettable. What hurts me is not that some people drunk with power say what they please but that this is an attempt to promote self-interest. But only a salesman can talk of his business. We have only one interest and that is Pakistan, and we will do every thing for it. Once again he cautioned members of the Assembly not to talk like Punjabis. You should not use methods that you consider inappropriate, as Punjab has done. We will not pass any resolution on this issue. He said there is no shortage of water in Punjab. On 6 June Punjab was getting 90 percent of its water needs, whereas Sind was getting only 60 percent. We have already said that you can take all the extra water but we cannot take control of the regulator; they control the regulator. He said that what is being said of a partner who welcomes everyone with open arms is unfortunate. Our city is a mini-Pakistan. Do not talk of castes and classes. My only request is that we have to maintain a difference in this respect; a big-hearted people and we are prepared to overlook small matters. We believe in a strong Pakistan, and in this respect we will be second to none. Those who say that in Sind water is used to irrigate parks and that because of too much water cracks are appearing in canals, should come to study the situation for themselves. He said if he gets an opportunity he will address a public meeting at Mochi Gate, Lahore, to tell people what Punjab has done to us, and we will acquaint them with the real state of affairs. In Punjab there are many people who love Sind. And when they get all of the facts they will realize how, even when water was available, hundreds of thousands of acres of land were made barren.

PAKISTAN

WATER ISSUE: SIND ASSEMBLY VOWS FIGHT FOR PROVINCIAL RIGHTS

Karachi AMN in Urdu 12 Jun 85 pp 1, 6

[Text] In the Sind Assembly today during debates on yesterday's three motions relating to remarks by the Punjab chief minister on the water situation, 21 members staged a 2-minute protest walk-out, and later the assembly unanimously passed a motion supporting Sind Chief Minister Syed Ghaus Ali Shah. The sponsor of one of the motions, Salim Jan Mazari, said that the statement of the Punjab chief minister has not only hurt our stature but also crushed our rights. Water is a basic need of life. He strongly denounced objectionable statements issued by the Punjab chief minister and members of the Punjab Assembly against the honor of the Sind chief minister. Such low talk from educated people is not civilized behavior. They want cheap popularity. Whether in this drama the Punjab chief minister plays the role of hero or heroine is of no concern to us. Whenever we talk of rights, a certain element in Punjab shouts that Pakistan is in danger. Is Pakistan limited just to Punjab and are other provinces colonies? Didn't we exert the same struggle for independence as other provinces? Don't the people of smaller provinces have a right to live in Pakistan? We believe we have the same rights as others. At this time, Sind suffers from a serious water shortage; losses as a result are incalculable. Fifty percent of the cane crop is lost. Rice sowing has been delayed and by now 30 to 40 percent of the crop is lost. The Chashma Jehlum Link Canal has been opened without our permission, immorally and illegally. In this connection, we support whatever efforts the chief minister has made. As far as our rights are concerned, the chief minister does not have to look over his shoulder. The entire house will unanimously support him. Today Punjab has done to us what Yazeed did to Imam Hussain. In our rural areas there is not a drop of water and cattle are dying of thirst. When we don't have water to drink, how can they think we have enough water? In this federation, Punjab has the role of elder brother and it should have a big heart. But after the oppression and injustice it has inflicted on us and the way it has harassed us, Punjab forgets that we will never concede our rights. The Punjab chief minister says that it controls the headwaters but he forgets that we also have certain things, the supply of which if stopped could choke them. He also assured the chief minister of his complete support and cooperation.

Sardar Muqim Khan Khoso said we don't want our elder brother, Punjab, to go without water, but we will not allow our rights to be snatched by force. He said our country was founded on fairness and justice, and it will have to survive on

these very principles. In Pakistan, the authority of the center will prevail, not that of Punjab. He said people now ask us if we are headed once again toward "one unit." He said the remarks of the Punjab chief minister go against national integrity and unity. No one should make such remarks. He said the Punjab chief minister has given evidence of his (incompetence?). He should not have done this. His remarks hurt our national integrity. We will not allow him to do this.

Masood Khoro said that even today there is no water in Canal Sakhar. This treatment of us is rooted in extreme narrow-mindedness. This country should be run on the basis of brotherliness. We cannot overlook questions involving our survival. There has been a loss of 5 billion rupees. This is no ordinary loss. He asked the chief minister to see that the 12-year-old agreement is honored. He also said that in this matter the entire nation was behind him.

Muzzafar Hussain Shah said that the issue of water is a matter of life and death for the province. The chief minister of Sind and the minister of irrigation have taken a very principled stand and all members should support it solidly. He said we do not want anything more. Until such time as a permanent solution is found, principles of temporary arrangement should be followed. We condemn those who want to create dissension between brothers. The integrity and survival of Pakistan is as dear to us as it is to anyone. We talk of our rights. We will not talk of provincialism. We should not use this issue against national interests. He congratulated the Sind chief minister and the minister of irrigation and said he would support them unconditionally.

Sayyad Imdad Mohammad Shah said that Punjab opened the Chashma Jehlum Link Canal by force. This is an unholy attempt to hurt our feelings. The people of Sind are being punished for having raised their voice the loudest for the restoration of democracy and against martial law. The Sind Assembly adopted the Pakistan Resolution at a time when the Unionist brothers of Punjab were telling the Britist that they wanted their guardianship. The Sind Assembly exposed both their civilian and military bureaucracy. For these reasons we are being punished by being denied water. The reality is that these people do not want a civil administration to succeed here. They want to produce a political vacuum at the national level so that they can continue to rule the country through martial law. These people sometimes create riots because of traffic accidents and sometimes because of water in an effort to keep us bedeviled with these problems. It is argued that the Chashma Jehlum Link Canal agreement is an old agreement and therefore not to be honored. On these grounds, India could also argue that the partition of the country is based on an old agreement that it will no longer recognize. No action should be taken that will hurt the nation and the country. By cutting off the water of Muslims, these people are following in the footsteps of Yazeed. Today, on the anniversary of Ali's martyrdom, we accept their challenge and in the tradition of Hussain we will face them. You hold the headwaters; we hold the Karachi port. We should learn a lesson from history. When the pharaoh began genocide, Moses appeared. We have faith in God. Just as Moses was instrumental in destroying the hordes of the pharaoh, so we can do so too. History tells us that you massacred 3 million Bengali Muslim brothers and declared that you wanted Bengal and not Bengalis. Having massacred Muslim brothers, you incurred nature's wrath. Never has there been such infamy. Your



100,000 soldiers surrendered. On this occasion he also recited a verse which said: "We are not afraid of the unjust, we have been tested and tried often enough." Do not force us to... The first prime minister of constitutional Pakistan was murdered. The first prime minister of East Pakistan was knifed to death. People will do anything for their interests. But we will not compromise on principles. Addressing the chief minister, he said: When this issue comes up for discussion, you should take part as the leader of the province, use your judgment and do not succumb to others. Even now Punjab allows us just enough water to drink. If you paralyze Sind, all of Pakistan will be paralyzed. What you are initiating now will be harmful for the country. He said that those who agree with me in principle should stage a 2-minute walk-out from the House to express solidarity on the rights of Sind. Consequently, 21 members left the house. They included Murad Ali Shah, Sayyad Imdad Mohammad Shah, Kaural Shah, Sayyad Mohammad Shah, Khuda Dino Chandeo, Begum Amina Ashraf, Gulzar Unnar, Begun Maqbool Juanaid Soomroo, Masood Ahmed Khoro, Ghulam Qadir Malkani, Abdul Haq known as Dost Mohammad, Ali Murad Dharejo, Salim Jan Mazari, Qayyum Sheikh, Raza Mohammad Dahari, Jalaluddin Zafar, Qazi Shafiq Ahmed, Rasool Bakhsh Khan Marri, Sardar Muqim Khoso and Ali Bakhsh Shah.

After the above-mentioned members left the house, Qazi Mohammad Akhtar, continuing the debate, said that threats from Punjab will result in loss of trust and will strengthen the hand of anti-Pakistan elements. He said our case is very strong on both moral and legal grounds. There should be no threats to close the headwater works; that can only lead to misunderstandings. He said the people of Sind are very intelligent, and they know how to fight for their rights. Now, even illiterate villagers know that the water shortage is imposed by nature but is man-made. He said that the water shortage will lead to famine, industry will be affected and it will reflect on the national economy and inflame people to an indescribable degree. Every action has its reaction. The people of Sind should be accorded their rights.

Dr Athar Quraishi said that this is a national issue and attempts should be made to resolve it in a national spirit. In this connection, the stand taken by the chief minister is sound. But, regrettably, the stand taken by the Punjab chief minister has undermined nationalist thinking. This is not a new issue but the manner in which it has come up this time is unprecedented. He said that the Punjab chief minister's stand is the result of partyless elections. The thinking of the Punjab chief minister is not nationalist. Today, a person has become chief minister in Punjab whose thinking is not right. The new political system has affected national security. Had there been national politics in the country, this would not have happened. He said that a system of political parties should be restored in the country at the earliest, otherwise the threat to the nation's survival will persist. He demanded that any official found guilty of stopping water should be treated as a national criminal and prosecuted as such.

Sayyad Murad Ali Shah said that in the Punjab Assembly remarks derogatory to Sind have been passed. We will have to reply to them. If anyone believes that only Punjab is Pakistan, he is mistaken. Sher Mohammad Unnar said that the central government should be made aware of our feelings. He also demanded that a resolution be adopted to denounce this [action by Punjab]. Liaquat Jatoi said that the water issue has been going on for many years; why has it been raised



now? The Punjab chief minister should not have done something to hurt the feelings of the House here. The issue of water for us is a matter of life and death, and now Pakistan is also faced with a question of life and death. Now the government will have to accept our just demands. Conspiracies are afoot on our borders and here brother is ready to kill brother. Mir Haider Ali Talpur said that this issue cannot be resolved by stopping gas to Punjab or by denying the port to Punjab. Good can prevail over evil. He prayed that Punjabis have the same feelings for us that we have for them. He warned against falling victim to enemy conspiracies. Do not fall into this trap. Move with caution, sense and patience. Hafiz Mohammad Taqi said that people were shocked by the remarks of the Punjab chief minister. He said that the real question is not one of water but of rights. If an attempt is made to snatch our rights we will fight back unflinchingly. The Punjab chief minister has given proof of his mental retardation. Notice should be taken of his threat to close the head-water works. He said efforts are being made to pit brother against brother and to extend martial law. This is a deep conspiracy.

Earlier, taking part in the debate on the motions, Sind Irrigation Minister Pir Sibgat Ullah Shah said that he fully shares in the sorrow of the honorable members. He said there are certain matters that can be aired only on certain occasions that are appropriate but that now we have been forced to disclose everything. He said the first meeting on the water issue took place in Islamabad. At this meeting, we felt that we were not gathering in a friendly atmosphere. We had a narrow escape; whoever we spoke to was out to snap at us and to fight with us, even though we went there for our rights and not for a fight. He said that he had to say with regret that the water shortage is artificial and was deliberately contrived.

Is it fair to abuse the Sind cabinet and chief minister? We have not vilified anybody. We demand our rights. Concluding the debate, Sind Chief Minister Sayyad Ghaus Ali Shah appealed to members that as far as the rights of Sind Province are concerned, it is the duty of all of us to make every effort to secure them. My faith is that no arrangement can work unless it is rooted in justice. He said that in the past the Chashma Jehlum Link Canal used to open after consultation with us, but this year we were not consulted. Our protest is valid. He said he is grateful to those who did not talk here of resignations and hunger strikes. He said the right of Sind is the right of all of Pakistan. Justice toward Sind will be justice toward Pakistan. Justice demands that until a permanent solution is found to the problem, the past temporary arrangement should continue. He also said that the Sind Government is not helpless in this matter. Rest assured that keeping in mind your feelings, we will make efforts to secure the rights of Sind province in the same spirit in which we are trying to secure water. We will speak of the rights of all provinces. And if any province is denied its rights, we will, with your cooperation, support the rights of that province. He said Pakistan was created after great sacrifices and it will operate in the way we all want.

On this occasion, Muzzafar Hussain Shah introduced a motion expressing full confidence in the chief minister's policies on the water dispute and assuring him of complete support now and in future. This motion was unanimously passed by the house.

SRI LANKA

COMMENT ON ISRAELI AID: 'ONE NEW FRIEND BRINGS 20 ENEMIES'

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 26 Jul 85 p 10

[Article by Erhard Haubold, datelined New Delhi, July: "Israel's Outpost in South Asia; the Involvement Has Entailed Mostly Trouble for Sri Lanka"]

[Text] The Israeli interest section, which is housed in the U.S. embassy in Colombo and is just over a year old, may soon be closed again. Government circles indicate that the relations are being reconsidered. Following the armistice with the Tamil separatists and the normalization of the situation in the north of the island, the expertise of the Israeli secret service people is no longer needed. What could be even more decisive is the fact that Saudi Arabia is delaying payment of a promised credit of 50 million dollars for the Mahaueli dam and irrigation project after--a smart diplomatic move--the arrival of the Israelis had been announced by the U.S. ambassador of all people.

Sri Lanka sought help in the fight against the increasingly successfully operating partisans. But the United States, Great Britain and other Western countries hesitated because they did not want to make India angry, according to Security Minister Athulathmudali. Only Israel was ready to train policemen and soldiers of Sri Lanka in secret service and interrogation methods. For Israel the alleged experts for agriculture and arid zones, who operated under the U.S. protective power, constituted an important first step in the Third World, a comeback in South Asia. Sri Lanka was supposed to smooth the way but it quickly became apparent that the matter mainly caused trouble for all involved, especially the government in Colombo. Big neighbor India spoke disapprovingly of the infiltration of foreign forces in the region and even asserted that Israel and Sri Lanka had concluded a security agreement. The Tamil organizations discovered an intensification of the interrogation and torture methods allegedly influenced by the Israelis. And they compared Colombo's settlement policy--which wanted to seal off the north by establishing Sinhalese settlements and moreover wanted to shift the ethnic balance--with Israel's policy in the occupied West Jordan.

"For one new friend (Israel) we have created 20 enemies (in the Arab world)" one foreign policy observer in Colombo noted. This cannot be taken lightly in view of the tight economic situation: Roughly 100,000 Sri Lanka citizens work in Middle Eastern countries, their dollar remittances are in third place of the foreign exchange income, after tea and rubber. Most of the tea export goes

to the Middle East, whereby Egypt, for the first time in 100 years, has overtaken the former colonial power England. Petroleum comes from Iran and Libya. In the villages south of Colombo, the people live on Oman Street or on Arab Lane, stand in long lines once a week at the bank window when wives who can neither read nor write withdraw the money transfers of their husbands and then drive back to their miserable huts in Japanese cars. Roughly 80 percent of the guest workers are Sinhalese; thus domestic tensions would also have to be expected if the Middle Eastern employers would become more reluctant to issue visas. Signs in that respect can be noted.

A map of the U.S. General Staff which--by mistake--noted Trincomalee as one of the ports available to the U.S. Navy in the Indian Ocean for "rest and recreation" caused a stir in Delhi. This immediately strengthened the suspicion that the port, situated on Sri Lanka's east coast, could after all be developed into a U.S. base. It would be outstandingly suited for that. During World War II, Mountbatten had his command center there; the British navy maintained a drydock (Colombo has ordered a new one in the meantime) and left behind 99 giant oil tanks with a 10,000 cubic meter crude oil capacity each which Colombo leased not to Indian firms (which are said to have submitted the most favorable offer) but to a syndicate which consists of German, Swiss, Singaporean and Pakistani firms. With one of the best natural harbors in the world, Trincomalee could fill the logistic gap for the U.S. superpower between Thailand and the Middle East and could relieve Diego Garcia as "aircraft carrier." In case of a blockade of the Persian Gulf, the Seventh Fleet would not first have to travel to Singapore for refueling. Used by the private sector, Trincomalee offers itself as repair center on the sea route between Europe and Indonesia, as second cargo port in addition to that of Colombo which has reached its capacity.

President Jayewardene responded to the criticism that he jeopardizes nonalignment with the question whether "nonalignment" can be eaten. However, Colombo has failed to take into account for a long time that in recent years India was less concerned with creating a Tamil state (Eelam) than with the--so felt--impairment of its security in the Indian Ocean.

For New Delhi, the partisans operating from Indian soil also were a "lever" so that Jayewardene would have to accept the "Indian-Soviet line" in the Indian Ocean if he wanted to solve the separatist problem, it could be gathered from Tamils in recent years in Madras. At the same time, U.S. diplomats in Colombo did pretty much everything to make Delhi--and the allied Soviets--angry. Both aspects now recede into the background with the new Indian government chief Rajiv Gandhi; his foreign policy is less directed toward confrontation than that of his mother; the relations with the United States have improved. The reassessment of the ties with Israel by Colombo may also be a recognition of the changed foreign policy environment in South Asia.

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SRI LANKA

## SECURITY CHIEF DISCUSSES TERRORISM

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 19 Jun 85 p 7

[Interview by Anita Pratap with Lalith Athulathmudali, Sri Lanka minister for national security, in New Delhi; date not specified]

[Text]

**Q:** *Are you prepared to hold negotiations with the Tamil militants?*

A: I am not prepared to say anything on this but I have said that any resolution of the problem must involve everybody.

**Q:** *The Buddhist clergy appears to be in total control of the ruling party.*

A: No, its influence is overestimated. There are some very positive features about the monks—they are totally opposed to violence.

**Q:** *How would you account for the assassination of Prime Minister S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike by a Buddhist monk?*

A: See, anybody can get into the robes of a monk unlike the Catholic church which has a very organised method of admission. Oriental religions are much more loosely structured.

Mr Bandaranaike was killed because of a quarrel within the party, it had nothing to do with the Tamils. On the current issue, the monks do reflect Sinhala opinion—Buddhist as well as Christian. Now you say that the Tamils are being discriminated against. If you come to Sri Lanka, the Sinhala and Muslims will tell you that they feel discriminated against.

I will give you the other side of the story. The Muslims form seven per cent of the population but have only one per cent of the jobs. The Jaffna Tamils

who form five per cent of the population have 22 per cent of the government jobs. The Sri Lanka Tamil population which constitutes 12.6 per cent of the population holds 23 per cent of the jobs. And the Indian Tamil population, which forms five per cent of the population, does not have even one per cent of the jobs.

**Q:** *I agree that job statistics are favourable to the Tamils. But my contention is that if you compare the figures in the last decade and the present, you would probably find a reduction in the intake of the Tamils.*

A: Yes, but I'll tell you why. You see in 1947 the two most educationally forward districts in Sri Lanka were Colombo and Jaffna. So a very high proportion of government and other important jobs went to Sinhala from Colombo and Tamils from Jaffna.

Since free education started in 1946 there has been a democratisation of education. For the Sinhala it has meant that the proportion of Sinhala getting into schools and colleges and into government service has gone down. So the proportion of Jaffna Tamils have likewise gone down but the number of Tamils from other areas have gone up. Jaffna Tamil students complain that in spite of getting higher marks they don't get into universities but the Tamils from Batticaloa (in the eastern region) will not

complain because the system works in their favour. I, as member of Parliament from Ratmalana, hear the same complaint from my constituency boys because several of them have not got admissions even though they got higher marks. So the system affects both communities of the two districts. My sympathy is with the boys who get higher marks, but it is not racial discrimination. It is something like your Gujarat agitation. But this January we have decided to throw open higher education to private people.

**Q:** *The government rules will not apply to these colleges?*

**A:** No, they won't. You have called me racist. Do you know that the education of 50 per cent of Tamil students in universities is paid for by me. I began a scholarship programme in 1979 worth \$6 millions. At the moment it pays for the education of 50 per cent of university students. By 1990 it will pay for the education of every university student. Upto now there has not been a single case of discrimination in the award of this scholarship. The scholarship is headed by a Tamil who is at present the chief justice of Sri Lanka. Undoubtedly there is a problem in higher education but to view it as a purely anti-Tamil operation is to distort reality. Actually in terms of numbers, more boys from Colombo get excluded than Tamil boys from Jaffna. The Sinhala viewed the education policy as democratisation but the Tamils, rightly or wrongly, saw it as discrimination.

**Q:** *How can the Tamils expect a fair deal from Mr Jayewardene when it was he who led the protest march from Kandy in 1957 demanding the abrogation of the B-C pact which sought to provide a measure of regional autonomy?*

**A:** The only thing that Mr Jayewardene opposed in the B-C pact was the linking of the two provinces. And that is his position even today—he opposes it because the people of the eastern region do not want that. We have 10 of the 12 parliamentary seats in this region.

**Q:** *But that is because of aggressive colonisation.*

**A:** There was no aggressive colonisation. Don't forget even during the time of the British 40 per cent of the east followed the Kandyan law. The purpose of colonisation is to give land to the landless. And anyway who pays for this—the country pays for it.

We are not developing land to alter the ethnic balance. For that matter the Tamil population in the south (the Sinhala-dominated areas) has increased. In 1971 the Tamils constituted 25 per cent of the population in these areas. In 1981 it had increased to nearly 35 per cent. So we can also call that "aggressive colonisation." But the terrorists would say that there is a difference between government-sponsored colonisation and people moving on their own.

**Q:** *I get the impression that you are keen on getting Tamils back into the mainstream.*

**A:** Yes, of course, I am.

**Q:** *But how will you go about achieving this?*

**A:** By working out a system by which they can share power in the periphery. And also by working out a reasonable way by which they can take care of themselves in their areas. I have no problem about that. But they must also learn to live with the rest of the country.

**Q:** *Why is it that you, as the national security minister, have been unable to control terrorism? If anything, terrorism has escalated in the last one year, climaxing in May.*

**A:** That is because the Tamil terrorists, who have finished their training in Tamil Nadu have crossed over with weapons and are now confronting us. The Tamil Nadu training camps are the biggest obstacle in curbing terrorism. I know for a fact that there are training camps in Coimbatore, Mettupalayam and Coonoor.

**Q:** *What has the government of India said about this, apart from officially denying it?*

**A:** I think that is a matter that must be kept within the knowledge of the governments of Sri Lanka and India.

**Q:** *If you say that you have documentary proof of training camps in Tamil Nadu and the*

*government of India categorically denies this, then is one to assume that the government of India is lying?*

**A:** The government of India knows that best. We know that training camps exist. We have them on video. We have produced that evidence. I have a lovely film of Sabaratnam taking a review in a lovely place between Coimbatore and Mettupalayam. We have sworn evidence taken by the police in a small town where a poor farmer was killed because he gave protection to a small boy from Sri Lanka who ran away from one of the training camps. This is recorded and is part of Indian policy records.

**Q:** *When you say that violence must stop, do you or do you not include Army excess?*

**A:** Of course I do. Army action must stop. Violence in any form, from whichever quarter, cannot be condoned. When terrorists stop violence—Pirabhakaran the landmine expert and others—the Army will automatically stop violence too.

**Q:** *Don't you think the killing of Sinhala civilians—as for instance in Anuradhapura and Trincomalee—will lead to a heightened sense of insecurity among the Sinhala and lead to a lack of confidence in the Jayewardene government?*

**A:** It might lead to something worse, that is my fear.

**Q:** *In this context do you think India can be of any help?*

**A:** I don't know about India but anyone who wants to help us can do so by trying to end this violence.

**Q:** *You now want to make the Prevention of Terrorism Act more stringent. In its existing form it is quite strong, and yet it has not helped to curb terrorism.*

**A:** We want to copy the Indian Terrorism Act. Laws are necessary to deal with people who break the law, who are committed to violence. The PTA is quite effective—we have been able to arrest a large number of terrorists.

**Q:** *Most of the young boys you have arrested under the PTA are innocent.*

**A:** No they are not innocent or else they would not have been arrested in the first



place.

*Q: What about the Tamil refugees who have fled to India—don't you have any plans of taking them back?*

*A: Because of the prohibited zone, fishermen who cannot fish (in Sri Lankan waters) have come across to Rameshwaram to continue their livelihood. I would love to have those people back so that they can do the fishing in their own homeland. I have no quarrel with them.*

*Q: I have spoken to some Sri Lankan liberals. They are also in favour of regional autonomy.*

*A: Liberals—the academicians and the sort that you are talking about—live in an ivory tower. They don't have to confront public opinion. The crucial point in regional autonomy is what is the area or region you are talking about. We will never agree to one unit that combines both north and east.*

*Q: Assuming there are two units, what is the precise nature of autonomy that you are willing to grant?*

*A: The precise nature was spelt out in the APC—the provincial councils.*

*Q: Why do you believe that Tamil terrorism is part of a Marxist conspiracy?*

*A: That is because Balasingham, Uma, the ERPLF are all Marxists.*

*Q: But isn't this a ploy to secure more support from the US?*

*A: We don't need that kind of support. We are not buying arms from America. Some journalists here are trying to paint us as a pro-western country, that we are leaving the nonaligned movement and so on. All that's rubbish.*

*Q: What do you have to say about the ENLF, the joint front of the militants?*

*A: I welcome it. When they unite it is easier for me. I know who I am fighting with and I know who I am talking to.*

*Q: You mean to say you look upon it as a manifestation of*

*the evolving consensus among the Tamils?*

*A: Could be. I am not against it. I only hope it will last.*

*Q: How will you get the support of the Sinhala masses in reaching a settlement with the Tamil militants?*

*A: If we can find a reasonable solution we can carry the whole country, not just the Sinhala masses. But any proposal must be based on give and take and not be one sided: We can't just attend to one community. Our government represents all communities.*

*Q: If the government of India is willing to ask the Tamil militants to curb their activities would you be willing to withdraw the Army from the Tamil areas?*

*A: How can the government of India ask such a thing of us. We can't tell the Indian government to withdraw troops from Punjab, or Assam or Kashmir. We will not withdraw Sri Lankan troops from an inch of Sri Lankan territory. How can we withdraw troops from Tamil areas and leave them open for all. No sovereign government can ever agree to that.*

*Q: But the Indian government would want some kind of assurance that the Tamil civilians will not be attacked by the armed forces.*

*A: Attacks against the Tamil civilians will stop overnight if the terrorist violence stops.*

*Q: Are you prepared to restore civil administration in the north?*

*A: I would love to withdraw the Army from civilian duties. I am a member of a democratic government. I don't like the Army performing civilian duties.*

*Q: What is the prerequisite for the restoration of civil administration in Jaffna?*

*A: Terrorist violence must stop. The attempt to overthrow the government of Sri Lanka must stop.*

*Concluded*